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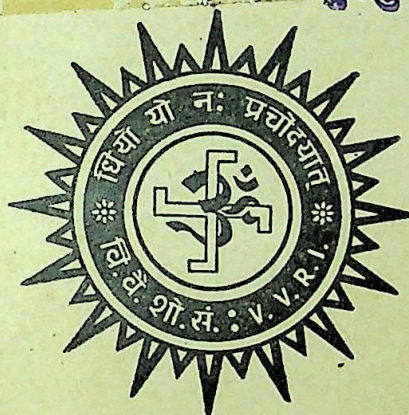
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SOCIOLOGICAL TRENDS AS REFLECTED IN NORTH-WEST HIMALAYAN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES *

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I. Introductory

The term 'sociological trends' used here pertains to Social Anthropology or Folklore, being a comparative science, which, according to Webster (1951), "investigates the life and spirit of a people as revealed in their customs and tales," to which one may add 'language' as well. This Science of Folklore starts with "the hypothesis that the normal reactions of the human mind at similar stages of its development to similar conditions of environment will produce similar results" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, article *Folklore*). Now, language is an admitted indication of the reactions of the human mind to environment, being often spoken of as a 'mirror of society'. The present article aims at describing the sociological trends, as explained above, as reflected in North-West Himalayan Indo-Aryan languages as specified in this *Journal* II (1964) 239. The dialects spoken in these regions, as investigated by the present writer, reveal the following common social trends:

II. A stamp of ancient Indo-Aryan tradition

The rainbow, in the Khasālī dialect of this region, is named as a 'track of the Divine Cow' (*kādhenuari gēl*), reminding one of Sanskrit *kāmadhenu-*, 'desire-fulfilling cow', the Sanskrit form of this word occurring for the first time in *Kathāsaritsāgara*, according to the great Sanskrit-German Lexicon, although an older form, *kāmadūghā*, being an epithet of *dhenūh*, occurs in the *Atharvaveda*, 4. 34. 8. Now, Khasālī is a branch of Pahārī, but in the Kashmīrī of Srinagar the rainbow is called 'the bow of the noble Rāma' (*ramb3drīndu'i Oñi*), and similarly in Banihal Kashmīrī 'the bow of King Rāma' (*radz ramīñ du. Oñi*). But all the dialects concerned do not indicate this mythological stamp as regards the rainbow: e. g. in the Marmatī dialect, being a Pahārī neighbour of Khasālī, it is named "comb-stick" (*kākʷu lhātth*), being an expression of environmental reaction to bē detailed presently.

Again, an abusive term meaning 'brotherless' (*nīḍhlai*) is used for a woman in Bhadarwahī, which may remind one of the phrases like 'a brother-

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less woman', used in *Rgveda* 1. 124. 7 in a famous hymn to the dawn (cf. *Nirukta* 3. 5).

Moreover, a very small bird, named *Jerno*, in Bhadarwāh, is supposed to be the bird for the sake of which Agastya is said to have drunk the ocean.

III. Taboos

The common North-West Pahārī word for the monkey, viz. *makkār* <Sanskrit *markaṭa*- is taboo in Bhadarwāh where it is called *dalcñā*, lit. 'pertaining to branches', corresponding to the concept underlying Sanskrit *śakhamyga*-, 'monkey', lit. 'a wild animal of the branches.' Again, to take the name of a father-in-law or a mother-in-law is taboo in Bhales. It is believed there that the neck of a person who takes either of these two names will tremble with shaking palsy (*thark*) at the time of death, so that a phrase *tes thark lagai*, 'he is seized with shaking palsy', is used in this connection.

IV. Animism

Traces of animism are indicated by Bhadarwāhī names such as *kūṇḍi* or *kūṇḍhi*, a variety of truffle (mushroom), which is said to be the wife of another variety of the same mushroom called *thunṭhā*, a palatable dark type called *gucchi* in Panjabi and Hindi. This *kūṇḍi* is said to emit smoke when somebody approaches it. Again, a particular stream in Bhadarwāh is named *kānogaḍ*, lit. 'ear-stream', supposed to be the cut-off ear of another stream.

V. Local beliefs

- (1) The name for the fourth night of the lunar fortnight in the month of Bhadon, viz. *pattār cāth* (apparently from Sanskrit *pitr-caturthī*, though no such Sanskrit term has come to the notice of the present writer from available sources) is a terror to the people of Bhadarwāh, for the sight of the moon on this night is said to be dangerous. A person who happens to see the moon on this night has to atone for this sin by throwing stones on the neighbouring houses and the consequent abuse inflicted by the people on him is supposed to exonerate him from this sin.
- (2) A stream is supposed to have been brought stealthily by somebody in Bhadarwāh. Consequently its name is *čor gaḍḍ*, 'thief-stream' in this region.
- (3) The name for the Rakhri festival, viz. *gōr Jatl*, 'the Gauṛa's festival', current in Bhadarwāh, embodies the local belief that it

was the Gauṛ Brāhmans who first introduced the Rakhṛī festival in Bhadarwāh.

- (4) A bullock with loose and descending horns is believed to be auspicious in Bhadarwāh. Consequently it is named there *māṅglu*, 'auspicious'.

VI. Hyper-traditional names

There are some interesting names in this region which have been independently coined, disregarding any connection whatsoever with names generally traditional or used in literature.

- (1) The name for a 'family deity' being commonly *kuladevata* or its variants in all Indo-Aryan regions, is *kul kh^āod*, 'master of the family', in Khasālī, substituting a modified form of Persian Xāvend, 'Lord master', related to Sanskrit *svadhā*, 'self-determination'. (Cf. P. Horn, *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymology*, 1893, p. 104). The substitution of this alien name *kh^āod* for '*devatā*' is obscure, but thought-provoking.
- (2) The name of the pastoral deity in Khasālī, viz. *ḥḥapal*, literally means 'protector of goats', being related to Skr. *ajapāla-* or *ajāpālaka* which traditionally meant a 'goatherd' alone (cf. Monier-Williams, *sub-voce*), the corresponding Sanskrit name of the pastoral deity being *pūṣān-*.
- (3) The name of the planet Venus in Rudhārī and Marmatī is (*biāṇu*), lit. 'one causing to marry'. A new functional name was thus substituted for the traditional *śukra-* or its synonyms.

VII. Name indicating environmental reactions

Names indicating environmental reactions are a most frequent category in this area, as the following examples will show :

- (1) For 'a hard nut to crack', the corresponding term in Khasālī is *kānderu rikh*, 'a bear on the shoulder'. In a mountainous environment, this idiom would be quite appropriate.
- (2) 'To shirk work' is expressed as *ḥḥsloṛ bhoṛ gāchnu* in Khasālī. *ḥḥsloṛ* in this dialect means a 'slug', being a kind of snail-like animal. The slowness of the slug has been transferred by implication to 'shirking' in this context.
- (3) The lowest type of menial work has been expressed in Bhadarwāhī, as 'carrying a carcass' (*khāllōṛ u'cano*) in a proverb which attacks the doctrine of equality and which

means : 'If I am a king, and thou art also a king, then by whom is a carcass (*lit.* the hide of a dead animal) to be carried ?' (*aũ bi ra.no, tũ bi ra.no, te khallðr keñi u'cano*).

- (4) A peasant is named (*dē.tal*), *lit.* 'one with bullocks' in Bhadarwāh.
- (5) For 'a tenacious embrace', Khasālī has *mākṛ kūmmi*, *lit.* 'monkey's embrace'.
- (6) While speaking of a selfish person, the Marmatī dialect says : 'He milks in his own milking pots' (*apðni keuri gan dūta*), an idiom naturally occurring to a people considerably pastoral.
- (7) A neighbour in Khasālī is named 'partner of a wall', (*kānta-bī'ha.l*), suggesting an age when the speakers of this dialect had a system of attached houses.
- (8) An adventurous person is named 'one who has legs', (*zhagatðr*) in Bhadarwāhī. In a mountainous area, legs would naturally be a prominent test of the capacity for forwardness.
- (9) A 'storm' is named '*ka'bli ba* in Khasālī, *lit.* 'a wind from Kabul,' *i.e.* from abroad. The reaction to a phenomenon alien to the environmentally accustomed one has been expressed here by the word '*ka'bli*.

VIII. Conclusion

The above study, it may be presumed, has given us the following points :

- (1) The North-West Himalayan Indo-Aryan languages, like many isolated regions of the world, have partly preserved older social tendencies but partly reveal new ones.
- (2) The speech communities of these regions have evolved languages which are remarkable expressions of reactions to environment. These regions are thus living Museums of Folklore.

ADHVARĀ- AND ADHVARYŪ-

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The traditional explication of the term *adhvarā-*, 'sacrificial ceremony' as 'not injuring, devoid of harm or mischief' (*a-dhvara-*), which is, for instance, given by Sāyana on *Rgveda* (RV) 8. 13. 30, *adhvare himsārahite yajñe*¹ or as 'not decaying, imperishable', proposed, e.g., by the same commentator on RV 3. 28. 5, *adhvaram avināśinam*, is untenable. A translation 'that which may not be disturbed or interfered with' cannot substantiate this etymology and has therefore rightly been rejected by Benfey² and Grassmann,³ who pointed out that the root *dhvar-* means 'to hurt, injure', not 'disturb'.⁴

Nowadays, most scholars⁵ seem to be agreed upon the etymological relation between *adhvarā-* and *ddhvan-*, 'way, course, journey',⁶ assuming an ancient *-r/n-* stem to underlie both the words.⁷ With regard to the

1. Cf. also Th. Benfey, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, London, 1866, p. 18. As is well known, the ancient Indian interpreters had often recourse to explications by means of the privative *a-*: L. Renou, in *Bull. School of Or. St. (BSOS)* 10 (1940-42) 6.

2. Benfey, *Die Hymnen des Samaveda, Glossar*, Leipzig, 1848, s. v. *rtu-*.

3. H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, 1872, Leipzig, 1936, pp. 48 f.

4. Nevertheless C.C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgef. etym. Wörterbuch d. altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam, 1899, p. 7, proposes: the root *dhvel-*, Skt. *dhvar-*; a meaning 'free from harm or deceit' might have developed into 'divine service, ritual ceremony'.

5. With the exception, perhaps, of P. Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda*, Allahabad, 1935, p. 24: "Pāṇini would have derived *adhvaryā-* which is found ... MSS 2. 3. 8. 4, *adhvaryo 'yam yajño astu ...*, directly from the root *dhvr-* with a *kṛtya-kṛt*: "may this sacrifice be undamageable." (Miss J. M. van Gelder, *The Mānava Śrautasūtra*, New Delhi, 1963, p. 89, translates: "... harmless").

6. See e.g. Renou, in *Bull. Soc. Ling. (BSL)* 37 (1936) 23 f.; G. Dumézil, *Rituels indo-européens à Rome*, Paris, 1954, pp. 58 f.; J. B. Bury's attempt (*Bezzenberger's Beiträge*, 7, p. 339) to connect *adhvarā-* with *madhu-* 'honey' is not worth discussing (see H. Oldenberg, in *Sacred Books of the East*, 46, on RV 1. 1. 4).

7. I refer to K. F. Johansson, in *Indog. Forsch.* 8 (1898) 180 ff.; E. la Terza, 'Saggio di un leisico etym. dell' antico indiano' in *Rivista indo-greco-italica*, 12 (1928) 226 f. (where other improbable attempts to explain the word); A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergl. Wtb. d. indogerm. Sprache*, I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930, p. 130; Renou, in *BSOS* 10 (1940-42) 6; M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etym. Wtb. d. Altind.*, I, Heidelberg, 1956, p. 32; T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, London, p. 147; A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, II, Paris, 1956, p. 146 (with a bibliography). This *-r/n-* stem seems to have escaped E. Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des mots en indo-européen*, I, Paris, 1935, p. 6.

semantic aspects of this etymology—which is indeed quite acceptable—scholars are, however, far from having established a *communis opinio*: Johansson's suggestion,⁸ viz. a semantic development 'Gang' > 'feierlicher Gang' > 'Feier, Zeremonie' ('walk, course, march' > 'solemn, ceremonious course or march' > 'solemnity, ceremony'), though endorsed by other scholars—La Terza,⁹ Pokorny,¹⁰ Mayrhofer¹¹—is one of those regrettable, superficial and mistaken attempts to account for semantic shifts of which Indo-European etymological literature is full. It is simply not possible to trace changes in meaning of terms belonging to the vocabulary of ancient religions etc. without a thorough knowledge of the contextual occurrences of the words concerned and without studying them against the background of the civilization in which they were current.¹² Grassmann¹³ wisely refraining, it is true, from adducing non-Indian parallels, had already, at an earlier date, supposed the semantic transition to have been 'way' > 'course' > 'religious festival', which, for reasons which are to follow, is likewise unconvincing. Debrunner,¹⁴ questioning the etymological relation between *adhvarā-* and *ādhvān-*, quotes E. Leumann,¹⁵ according to whom the former word originally meant: 'in accordance with the rite' ('dem Ritus entsprechend'), and *ādhvān-* should be taken in the transferred sense of 'norm, rite' (which however does not occur). Whereas Renou¹⁶ in an earlier article tried to make the connection between *ādhvān-* and *adhvarā-* clear by a reference to the movements or displacements ('*déplacements*') on the sacrificial ground which are indeed one of the characteristics of the

8. Johansson, o.c., p. 181.

9. La Terza, l.c.

10. In Walde, o.c., I, p. 130, referring also to the Germ. '*begehen*' (a) 'to go over', (b) 'to celebrate (a religious festival), to perform its ceremonies'; the ideas underlying *adhvara-* and *begehen* are however quite different.

11. Mayrhofer, l.c.

12. In considering 'semantic parallels' which are sometimes lavishly produced one has to proceed with caution. Johansson adduced, for instance, the group of Germ. '*Eid*', 'oath', which according to R. Meringer (*IF* 18, p. 295) would (as an original '*Eidgang*') derive from the root *ei-*, i., 'to go'; however, although there is a Swedish word *edgang*, 'oath' (the oath being taken after a solemn walk), these German terms may be explained otherwise—if they can be etymologically explained at all; such a 'walk' or march is unknown in ancient-German legal proceedings (S. Feist, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der gothischen Sprache*, Leiden, 1939, p. 29), and an oath is no sacrificial ceremony.

13. Grassmann, l.c.

14. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, Göttingen, 1954, p. 137; cf. p. 88.

15. E. Leumann, in M. Leumann, *Die lateinischen Adjektiva auf -lis*, Strassburg, 1917, pp. 141, 146.

16. Renou, in *BSL*, l.c.

activity of an *adhvaryu* while performing his ritual duties, modified his interpretation, later on,¹⁷ thinking of the 'ways and means' in charge of which the *adhvaryu* has to perform various actions, returning in 1957 to "the walking (of the officiants) on the sacrificial ground."¹⁸

In my opinion none of these explications will carry conviction to anyone who takes the trouble to examine the words *ādhvan-* and *adhvarā-* in their Vedic contexts. The word *ādhvan-*, to begin with, clearly indicates, in the older Vedic texts, "a way or road which leads to a goal, a comparatively safe and passable (also for horses: *RV* 6. 46 13 ; 10. 22. 4) way, a road which makes good going, a journey."¹⁹ More literal uses occur, e.g. *RV* 1. 31. 16 ... *mīmṛṣo ... imām ādhvānam yām āgāma dūrāt*, 'do not mind (O Agni) the way which we have come from afar,'²⁰ (*Atharva-veda* (*AV*) 3. 15. 4, the same line with *dūram* : '... bear with the distant road we have gone,' to be recited in a rite on behalf of a merchant who wishes to be successful in trade) ; 10. 108. 1, *dūrē hy ādhvā jāguriḥ paracaiḥ* ; 2. 13. 2, *samānō ādhvā pravātām anuṣyāde* ; 10. 185. 2 ; *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (*VS*) 9. 13. The word is also used in connection with divinities such as Dawn and Night : *RV* 1. 113. 3 ; the Sun : 1. 71. 9 ; 10. 179. 2 ; Agni : 7. 42. 2 ; 10. 115. 3 ; Soma : 9. 52. 2 ; Indra . 1. 104. 2 ; cf. 4. 16. 2 ; the Maruts : 6. 50. 5, etc. Sometimes, these ways of divine powers are said to be ancient, customary, traditional' (*pratna-* : 9. 52. 2) or 'long since obtained' (*sanavitta-* : 7. 42. 2) ; that is to say, the god travels along his special road from time immemorial. It is not surprising to find a more or less metaphorical or at least extended application²¹ of a word of this meaning which must also have, in daily life, been in frequent use : 8. 27. 17, the man who is protected by Varuṇa and other gods 'goes his journeys along ways which are easy to traverse' (*sugēbhir yāty ādhvanāḥ*) ; cf. also 1. 72. 7 ; *VS* 26. 1. Yet, these ways and journeys are certainly not always concrete and mundane. When *Pūṣan*²² protects the road and *Bhaga*, the divine distri-

17. Renou, *Religions of Ancient India*, London, 1953, p. 32.

18. Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, III, Paris, 1957, p. 25.

19. The remarks made by E. Benveniste, in A. Martinet and U. Weinreich, *Linguistics Today*. New York, 1954, p. 137, on the ancient Indian words for 'way' are too brief and, hence, superficial.

20. See K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, p. 36 ; P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im Veda*, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 110 ff. ; Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, XII, Paris, 1964, p. 79.

21. Cf. e.g. also *SB* 2. 3. 4. 37.

22. For *Pūṣan* as a guardian of the way of the cow with which the *soma* is bought cf. *VS* 4. 19. See S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda*, Princeton, 1941, pp. 16 ff. The same god is also a conductor of the deceased, who, knowing the ways, delivers them to the world of the Fathers (*RV* 10. 17. 3 ff.).

butor of wealth, has made his presence felt, the broad way towards well-being is open : *RV* 8. 31. 11, *étu pūṣā ... urūr adhvā svastāye* (cf. Sāyaṇa : *tato mārgarakṣake pūṣany āgate sati uruḥ vistīrṇaḥ adhvā mārگاḥ svastaye asmākam avināśāya bhavatu*).²³ Then Pūsan will guide the sacrificer to a good pasture : 1. 42. 8 (cf. st. 1). It may be recalled parenthetically that Soma, when ritually offered, is in 10. 76. 3 stated to have paved the way for Manu, i.e. the father of the human race, who is believed to have instituted sacrifices and religious ceremonies (*mānave gātum āśret*). The end of the way is however concealed and kept from human knowledge : in 4. 5. 12 Agni, who is the lord of wealth in heaven and on earth (st. 11), is implored to say what will befall those speaking, because they do not know the farthest point.

Two places are of special interest because they exhibit both *adhvan-* and one of the other terms which are studied in this article. *RV* 1. 23. 16, reads *ambāyo yany adhvabhir jāmayo adhvarīyatām*, 'the mothers of those who perform a sacrificial rite, (their) sisters (i.e. the waters) go along (their) ways, Sāyaṇa explaining *adhvarīyatām adhvarām ātmana icchatām asmākam...* and *tā āpaḥ adhvabhiḥ devayajanamārgaiḥ...gacchanti*. *RV* 7. 42. 1d, *yujyātām ādri adhvarāsyā pśaḥ* is followed by 2a *sugās te agne sanavitto adhvā*. These places do not however prove the etymological connection (in the modern sense of this term) to be known to the poets, because 'popular', pseudo- or secondary etymologies play an important part in their works.²⁴

What is, however, worthy of special mention is that *adhvan-* occurs sometimes in similes illustrating ritual processes or procedures. Cf. *RV* 1. 173. 11, *yajñō hi śmēndram kās cid rñdhān...tīrthē nācchā tāṭṣandm ōko dīrghō nā sidhrām ā kṛnoty adhvā*, 'for, any act of worship which is successful...brings, like a long way the man who reaches his goal, Indra, like a thirsty man to a ford, towards the (sacrificer's) abode.' Here the *yajña-*, 'sacrificial worship' is compared to a way ; just as a way leads a man home, thus the sacrifice may bring the god to the dwelling of the sacrificer. In *RV* 7. 58. 3, it is no doubt the liturgical words of praise pronounced by the poet which are expected to lead those on behalf of whom the text is recited to the goal : *...jūjoṣann in marūtaḥ suṣṭutīm naḥ | gatō nādhvā vi tirāti jantūm prā naḥ spārḥābhir ūtibhis tireta*, 'that the Maruts take delight in our excellent praise ; just as a trodden path will lead

23. Compare the above explication of *adhvarā-* by *avināśin-* !

24. See my article, 'The etymologies in the ancient Indian Brāhmaṇas', *Lingua* (Amsterdam), 5 (1955) 61 ff.

a person further, so may it further us with (your) enviable assistance.²⁵ Whereas in 10. 51. 6 the sacrificial fire is compared to a carriage-horse—like a horse which covers a certain distance, the fire conveys the oblations to heaven by the paths which lead to the gods (st. 5 *pathāḥ...devayānām*): *agnēḥ pūrve bhrātaro artham etam rathivādhvanam anv āvarivuh*—the poet of RV 6. 16. 3 addresses Agni as follows: *vēthā hi vedho ādhvanāḥ pathās-ca devāñjasā āgne yajñēsu sukrato*, 'for thou, O disposer,²⁶ knowest, O god Agni, truly the ways and paths, at (i.e. on the occasions of) the sacrifices, O thou resourceful one.'

It is worth while to examine also the relevant occurrences of *adhvan-* in post-Rgvedic texts. VS 5. 33, addressing the Sun (*Sūrya*) is of special interest; *adhvanam adhvapate*²⁷ *prā mā tira svasti me 'smīn pathi devayāne bhūyāt*, 'O lord of the ways, lead me onward; may I be happy on this path which reaches the gods.' This path, of course, is the way of the sacrifice: *devayānaprapake yajñamārge mama kalyāṇam bhūyāt* (Mahīdhara); cf. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (PB) 1. 4. 1. The combination of *adhvan-* and *pathi-* occurs also in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (TS) 2. 5. 11. 2, to denote the ways and paths which lead those who apply the ritual methods correctly to the world of the gods and the world of men: 'Clever indeed were the *hotars* of old; therefore the ways were held apart, and the paths did not conflict.'

In the *Brāhmaṇas* the word under examination is sometimes used to denote the way to heaven or to the gods. PB 25. 10. 16, after arguing that the world of heaven is situated at the same distance as the spot where the *Sarasvatī* is lost in the sands of the desert, observes: *sarasvatī-sammītenādhvanā svargam lokam yanti*, 'they go to the world of heaven by a journey commensurate with the S.' In 4. 6. 17 the words 'by means of six months they go hence on their way, by means of six they return' (*ṣaḍbhir ito māsair adhvānam yanti ṣaḍbhiḥ punar ayanti*) are explained by the commentator: *...adhvānam eva yanti svargaprāptisāadhanamārgam eva yanti...imam eva lokam pratyāgacchanti*, the text continuing; 'Where, then, is the world of heaven, for reaching which they perform a great Soma sacrifice?' In 6. 15. 3 *adhvan-* occurs in a simile: one applies the

25. Cf. Geldner, o.c., II, p. 234, and Renou, *Et. véd. pān.*, X, Paris, 1962, p. 45, who seem right in following Sāyaṇa who considers *tireta* a singular form (otherwise; H. D. Velankar, *Rgveda Maṇḍala VII*, Bombay, 1963, p. 135).

26. This translation is tentative; see Renou, *Et. véd. pān.*, VI, Paris, 1958, p. 68.

27. For this expression see my *Stylistic repetition in the Veda*, Amsterdam, 1959, pp. 260 f. The commentators Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara explain *adhvanām* otherwise and no doubt wrongly: *adhvanām saṃcārāṇām madhye vartamānam māṃ tvam pratira*.

strongest hymns of praise in order to reach the world of heaven just like noblemen who, when about to undertake a journey (*adhvānam*), yoke their strongest horses. These ways between heaven and earth—mention of which is made also in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (AB) 3. 25. 3 ; 4. 20. 21 ; cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (ŚB) 12. 4. 1. 10—are, according to ŚB 2. 3. 4. 37, dangerous. That the ascension of the successful sacrificer to the heavenly regions was indeed considered a journey along a way through the atmosphere may appear also from *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* (JB) 1. 165:²⁸ *yo vā anavaso 'dhvānam praiti nainam sa samaśnute | atha yaḥ sāvasaḥ praiti sa evainam samaśnute | ayam vāva samudro 'nārambheṇo yad idam antarikṣam ; tasya nānavasenettham gatiḥ asti nettham... |*

The author of AB 4. 30. 8 co-ordinates a journey and a long sacrificial session in the following way : *mahāntam vā ete 'dhvānam esyanto bhavanti ye saṃvatsaram vā dvādaśaḥam vāsate*, 'they who perform the year-session or the twelve-day rite are about to go a long journey.' The next paragraph explains what is meant. By reciting a hymn and invoking the gods for the sake of safety (RV 10. 65) one secures safety, i.e., a safe passage (*svastyayanam*) so that one attains 'the other side of the year' (*svasti saṃvatsarasya pāram aśnute*). 'One goes', it is stated in 5. 30. 1, with days and nights through the year, for they are the wheels of the year. If one sacrifices after sunrise, that is as if one were to perform swiftly a journey with a chariot with two wheels.' In this connection attention may be drawn to *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (KB) 7. 7, 'the sacrifice is a chariot of the gods' (*devaratho vā eṣa yad yajñah*). The introductory and concluding oblations are its two sides. He who makes them alike, just as one can perform a journey (*adhvānam*) as described by driving on in a chariot with two sides, so safely he attains the world of heaven. See also *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* (TB) 1. 5. 12. 53.

Whereas *ddhvan-* could thus denote in the ritual spheres the way leading the sacrificer to the heavenly regions, in the Upaniṣads the knowledge of the all-important esoteric doctrine is compared to a means of transport enabling a man to go a long distance (*adhvānam* : *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (BĀU) 4. 2. 1), as well as the journey to the supreme abode successfully brought to an end by the man who has the right insight and control over the mind and the senses (*Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (Ka. U) 1. 3. 9). Moreover, the term applies also to the way by which those beings go and return

28. Compare also Caland's note : "The sacrifice is, so to say, a journey to the heavenly abodes, during which one has to traverse the atmosphere which is like a sea." (W. Caland, *Des Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam Acad., 1919, p. 63).

who, after death, are subject to reincarnations (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (Ch. U) 5. 10. 5). Thus *Kauṣ. U* 1. 1 also speaks of 'another way in the world (*loka-*) in which a person may be placed'.

There is no need to cite further examples. It is however worth recalling that words for 'way' or 'path' are frequently used not only in India,²⁹ but also in many other parts of the world in a religious sense, especially to denote the way of salvation.³⁰ The idea that, like all phenomena in this universe, man is, either in this world or towards the other world, on the way, whereas God, the goal, abides in absolute rest is common to many religions.³¹ Sometimes this way is conceived as the morally and religiously correct behaviour of men, sometimes as the path of mysticism by which the individual soul approaches the divine presence to be absorbed in the highest Reality. Elsewhere again the idea of the way has developed into a journey towards heaven.³² In the Veda the belief comes into prominence that on the one hand the gods travel through the universe, visiting the sacrificial grounds of the sacrificers and on the other the oblations, the sacrificial gifts (*dakṣiṇas*),³³ the religious merits of the sacrificers and the successful sacrificers themselves may travel heavenward. In short, the *pānthā devayānaḥ* are too well known to be in need of comment. Cf. also e.g., *ṚV* 2. 41. 5; 3. 54. 9; 4. 35. 3; 4. 45. 6; 5. 47. 6; 7. 73. 3; 10. 57. 1; by means of the sacrifice the way between gods and men has in the days of yore been cleared: 1. 83. 5. Thus the *Rgveda* speaks of sacrificers who have set out on the path which, being secure from menace, leads to well-being (6. 51. 16, *āpi pānthām aganmaḥi svastigām anehāsam*³⁴). The importance attached by the ancient poets and ritualists to terms for 'way' may appear also from a passage such as *ṚV* 10. 2. 3, *ā devānām āpi pānthām aganma*, 'we have set foot on the the way of the gods.' Here Sāyana explains *vaidikamāgram*, as 'the Vedic way', or 'method of escaping (an undesirable destiny after death) in accordance with Vedic ritualism.'

29. It is my intention to discuss this point in an article to be contributed to the *Mikkyo Bunka Commemoration Volume* to be published by the Koyasan University, Japan.

30. See e.g. F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart, 1961, pp. 147 ff.

31. E. Lehmann, *Stället och vägen* ('Place and way', in Swedish), Stockholm, 1917.

32. For comparable ideas connected with the bridge see C. J. Bleeker, *The Sacred Bridge*, Leiden, 1963, pp. 180 ff.

33. Cf. e.g. *ŚB* 1. 9. 3. 1.

34. For *anehas*. cf. Renou, *Et. véd. pān.*, VII, Paris, 1960, p. 97.

Turning now to the term *adhvarā*³⁵ it may first be observed that, as is borne out by the accent, it must be of 'adjectival' origin :³⁶ 'related to, or concerned with a way or journey', travelling, or 'that which proceeds on its path'.³⁷ Cf. *pataṛā*- 'flying' beside *paṭāṅga*-, 'bird' (an ancient -r/n-stem : Hett. *pattar*, *paddan*- of 'wing').³⁸ One is therefore tempted to answer in the affirmative the question as to how far this theoretically probable 'original' sense is still reflected in passages such as *RV* 8. 35. 23, *namovāké prāsthite adhvaré narā vivākṣaṇaṣya pītaye | ā yātam...*, "come, O Lords", the *Āśvins* are addressed, 'to (into the presence of) the act of homage, to the sacrificial ceremony which has 'departed',—i.e., has started and is in progress,— with a view to drinking the *soma*...' This translation which seems preferable to Geldner's 'at the oblation which has been dished up' ('bei der vorgesetzten Opfergabe')³⁹ is supported by other passages exhibiting the compound *pra-i*-, 'to go on, advance, proceed' in connection with *adhvara*-. In *RV* 8. 13. 30, it reads : *syām dirghāya cakṣase prāci prayaty adhvaré*, 'he (Indra) is long to be seen while the sacrificial ceremony is going on further' (*gacchati pravartmāne sati*, *Sāyaṇa*) ; in 8. 71. 12, *agnīm vo devayajydyāgnīm prayaty adhvaré*, 'I (invoke) for you Agni with worship of the gods, Agni while the sacrificial ceremony is going on' (*prakarṣeṇa gacchati pravṛtte sati*, *Sāyaṇa*) ; 10. 21. 6, *tvām yajñésu ilaté gne prayaty adhvaré* ; similarly, 6. 10. 1, *prayati yajñé*.⁴⁰ A sacrifice *yajña*- was considered to go or travel ; *AV* 18. 4. 15 is quite explicit on this point : *hutó 'yām sāmsthito yajñā eti | yātra pūrvam dyanam hutānām*, 'this offered sacrifice, which is completed, goes by (or to) the ancient track of the (former) oblations.'

There is no need to cite all stanzas in which *adhvara*- and words for 'way' are used in the same context, but it will be well to recall *Sāyaṇa*'s interpretation of *RV* 3. 4. 4, *ūrdhvó vām gātúr adhvaré akāry ūrdhvā śocīṃsi prāsthita rájāmsi*, 'rising upwards' your (Agni and the *barhis* are meant) course (*yajñamargaḥ*) has been undertaken at the

35. For an attempt to trace the difference in meaning between *yajña*- and *adhvara*- see W. Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda*, I, *Abh für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 16, Leipzig, 1924, 4, pp. 30 f. Sometimes *adhvara*- is distinct from *stoma*-, 'the ritual eulogic chant' (e.g. *RV* 10. 63. 6), or refers to the ritual acts (e.g. 9. 83. 5).

36. Cf. also T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, London, 1955, p. 147. See also Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Gramm.*, II, 2, pp. 136 ff.

37. The last interpretation has recently been given by S. S. Bhawe, *The Soma-hymns of the Rgveda*, I, Baroda, 1957, p. 39.

38. Cf. also Benveniste, *Origines*, I, p. 14 ; Mayrhofer, *o.c.*, II, pp. 198, 199.

39. *Sāyaṇa* unconvincingly combines *prāsthite* and *namovāke*.

40. See also further on.

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sacrificial rite : rising upwards the (Agni's) flames have set out for the atmosphere' and 3. 57. 4; 9. 98. 3 ('moving upwards').

In AV 5. 12. 2 Agni is requested to place the *adhvara-* of those speaking among the gods. Whatever the original connotations of the word might have been, it must denote something which can be removed or transferred. In AV 18. 2. 32, the *adhvara-* is stated to have 'entered' (*niviṣṭa-*) Yama, the ruler of the realm of the deceased. I would now be inclined to revise my opinion of AV 14. 1. 46, *vi nayanty adhvarām*⁴¹ which—though different from the parallel stanza RV 10. 40. 10, *vi mayante adhware*, which may mean, 'they take turns at the sacrificial rite'⁴² is translatable as 'they (i.e. those concerned lead) way (i.e. perform) the rite'.

The use of the verb *hi-* in connection with the sacrifice may point in the same direction. Generally speaking, it expresses the idea of 'setting in motion, impelling, urging on'. In RV 1. 23. 17 the wish is expressed that the waters will 'promote' (Geldner) the cult; or, does *hinvantu* mean, more literally : '(they) must set in motion, urge on?' This meaning would seem to be right in 7. 56. 12, *śúcim hinomy adhvarām śúcibhyaḥ*, (viz. the Maruts). Cf. also 10. 30. 11. Elsewhere the officiants are urged on to conduct the sacrifice to the gods : RV 4. 58. 10, *indm yajñam nayata devdā*; 10. 101. 2, and compare 10. 66. 12. The same idea recurs in the Brāhmaṇas : ŚB 3. 5. 3. 17 quoting VS 5. 17, *prāci pretam adhvarām kalpayantī ūrdhvaṃ yajñam nayatam*, explains, in agreement with Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara : 'convey this sacrifice upward to the world of the gods'. The *mantra* is to consecrate the bringing forward of the carts in which the *soma* is conveyed (*Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* (Āp. ŚS) 11. 6. 11). Cf. also ŚB 3. 9. 3. 5, quoting VS 6. 25; 14. 1. 4. 14, quoting VS 37. 19, and see ŚB 1. 3. 4. 6 etc. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (JB) 1. 277, *devā anyām vartanim adhvarasya mānuṣāsa upajivanty anyām*, 'the gods subsist on one track (course)⁴³ of the cult, men on the other'.

The well-known similes comparing the activities of the officiants in regard to the sacrifice to the specific doings of charioteers or travellers are, if I am not mistaken, not foreign to the above conception of the sacrifice ; RV 7. 34. 5, *yajñam yāteva pātman tmānā hinota*, 'urge the sacrifice like a

41. In *Indological Studies in honor of W. Norman Brown*, New Haven, Conn., 1962, p. 84, n. 40, I had my doubts about the correctness of Whitney's translation : "they lead away the sacrifice" (W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge, Mass., 1905, p. 749).

42. See *Indol. Studies W. Norman Brown*, pp. 78 ff., especially, p. 84.

43. "Spur", W. Caland, *Das Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam Acad., 1919, p. 108.

traveller (his horses) on his march', and similarly in st. 6, *tmānā samātsu hinōta yajñām*, 'urge on the sacrifice during the contests'.⁴⁴ Geldner⁴⁵ may be right in supposing the same simile to be implied in passages such as 7. 73. 3, *dhema yajñām*, 'we have urged on the sacrifice': "Das Opfer unter dem Bilde des wettfahren Wagens." The frequent conception of sacrifice and ritual recitation as chariots, however self-evident in the ancient Aryan society,⁴⁶ may indeed now become still more comprehensible. In *RV* 1. 129. 1; 1. 175. 3; 1. 178. 3; 2. 18. 1 etc., Indra is besought to drive, or to hasten the course of the 'chariot' of the sacrificer⁴⁷ (*Sāyana* on 1. 175. 3, *svargagamanasāadhanam yajñākhyam ratham*; cf. also the same, on 2. 18. 1). Compare also 2. 31. 1-4; 5. 35. 7; 8; 5. 66. 3; 5; 8. 6. 2. In *RV* 10. 114. 6 the inspired sages (*kavayaḥ*)⁴⁸ are described as setting the chariot (i.e., the sacrifice : *yajñam*, *Sāyana*) in motion by means of *rcas* and *sāmans* (*ṛksāmābhyām prā rātham vartayanti*). Another passage alluding to the idea of the 'sacrificial chariot', i.e., to the conception of the sacrificial ceremony (*adhvara-*) as a vehicle,⁴⁹ is *RV* 7. 42. 1, where the two stones for pressing the *soma* are enjoined to put (the *soma*) which is called the ornament of the *adhvara*-⁵⁰ to the (sacrificial) chariot; in the same stanza the *soma* is paraphrastically indicated by the expression: 'the neighing of the one who springs forth'.⁵¹ The same phraseology occurs also in connection with *yajña-*. Thus *RV* 7. 43. 2, reads *prā yajñā etu hētvo nā sāptiḥ*, 'the sacrifice must proceed like a courser which is to be urged on'. Compare also passages such as 4. 5. 12 and 13. It may be interesting to add that the *Rbhus* who are

44. For the use of *hi-*, see above.

45. Geldner, o.c., II, p. 247.

46. For an explicit simile cf., e.g., *RV* 5. 60. 1; 7. 34. 5. For chariot races etc. in Vedic antiquity see, e.g., H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, pp. 291 ff.; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Delhi, 1958, II, pp. 201 ff.; my *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, The Hague, 1965, ch. III, passim; Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1947, p. 75.

47. Geldner, o.c., I, p. 179. Compare also Geldner (-Nobel), o.c., IV, Register, pp. 192 and 219.

48. See *The Vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague, 1963, pp. 16, 44 ff. etc.

49. For the *rātha-ṛtāsyā*, see H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen, 1951-59, pp. 457 ff.

50. Renou, *Ét. véd. pān.*, IV, Paris, 1958, p. 103, rightly observes that the *soma* indeed is *athvaraśrī-*. It is doubtful whether Neisser (o.c., p. 30, n. 1) is right in considering *RV* 1. 44. 3, *yajñānām adhvaraśriyam*, an argument in favour of the thesis that the idea expressed by *yajña-* is more general than that denoted by *adhvara-*.

51. Cf. also Renou, *ibid.*, V, Paris, 1959, p. 45. Oldenberg's comment (H. Oldenberg, *Rgveda, Noten*, II, Berlin, 1912, p. 39) is no longer tenable in all respects.

renowned wagon-builders⁵² are explicitly stated in *RV* 3. 54. 12 to have fashioned also the 'cult' (*adhvara*-).⁵³

Agni, the messenger, who bears the oblations (to the gods) is also called the charioteer of the sacrificial rites (*RV* 1. 44. 2. ... *dūtó dsi havya-vāhanó 'gne rathīr adhvarāṇām* ; 8. 11. 2 ; 6. 7. 2 ; 7. 7. 4). The same god who is called upon to 'drive' the *yajña*- (10. 188. 3) is known as the charioteer (*rathiam*) of the sacrifice (*yajñasya*) : 8. 44. 27 ; 10. 92. 1. He is, Sāyaṇa explains (on 1. 44. 2 etc.), the one who conveys the sacrifices to the gods in a chariot. From these passages *RV* 1. 27. 1 can hardly be disconnected : here, Agni who is said to rule over all sacrificial rites is compared to, and praised as, an excellent horse. See also *ŚB* 1. 4. 2. 10 and 11 (*rathīr adhvarāṇām*). In *RV* 3. 23. 1 Agni is described as the 'leader' or 'guide' of the *adhvara*- ; it is stated in the same stanza that he has received the food for the gods and so it is clear that Agni is represented here also as conveying the oblations to the heavenly abodes and that, consequently, the *adhvara* was conceived of here also as something movable. Sāyaṇa explains : *nirvāhako netṛtvāt*. Cf 8. 19. 2 ; 8. 43. 20, and *ŚB* 12. 4. 4. 1. Also in *RV* 3. 28. 5 the god of fire is besought to convey the *adhvara*- to, or rather to place it among, the gods. In 7. 2. 7 the two divine *hotars* (one of whom is Agni) are called upon to make the *adhvara*- go upwards (i.e. *devābhī mukham*, Sāyaṇa). Of Agni's function as a messenger or ambassador for the *adhvara*- we are informed in *RV* 4. 7. 8 ; this god indeed, the poet states, is well-formed as to the ascents to heaven. Compare also 4. 9. 6 ; 7. 3. 1 ; 7. 7. 1. In *RV* 2. 2. 5 we learn that Agni, as a *hotar*, must *pari-bhū*-⁵⁴ the entire *adhvara*-. In contradistinction to Geldner⁵⁵ who takes the verb to mean 'keep together', and Renou⁵⁶ who translates : "that he (Agni) surrounds the entire sacrificial ground" I would suppose these words to mean 'he (Agni) must, as a *hotar*, accompany (take care of) the cult' ; for *pari-bhū* cf. 7. 31. 8. Reference should also be made to *RV* 3. 14. 7 where Agni is implored to pay attention to everyone, i.e. to every sacrificer, who has a good chariot : *tvām viśvasya surdthasya*

52. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 132 ; A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II, Breslau, 1929, pp. 134 ff.

53. The predilection for phraseology borrowed from chariot-driving etc. which—considering the great interest in chariots in the noble milieu of the sacrificers—is in itself far from surprising, did not however prevent the poets from incidentally resorting to other expressions : *tan- adhvaram*, *RV* 8. 43. 20 ; 10. 17. 7 ; *vi-tan-*, *AV* 9. 6. 27.

54. Cf. *RV* 1. 1. 4 ; see also further on.

55. Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 278.

56. Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, XII, p. 42.

bodhi. Notwithstanding Sāyana's *śobhanayānopetasya*, I venture to suggest that the chariot denotes, metaphorically, the cult.⁵⁷

There is no point in pursuing this matter any further.⁵⁸ What is however relevant to our main theme is that the sacrificer who performs an *adhvara*- is explicitly stated to go to the gods. *ŚB* 1. 2. 4. 5, *adade 'dhvara-kṛtaṃ devebhya iti | adhvaro vai yajño ; yajñakṛtaṃ devebhya ity evaitad āha*, " 'I take (you) who performs (a) sacred rite(s) to the gods', he says ; because a sacred rite means a sacrifice, 'who performs (a) sacrifice(s) to the gods', he thereby says." In 1. 9. 3. 2 the same Brāhmaṇa asserts that the path on which the sacrifices go to the heavenly world becomes also the way by which the sacrificer himself ascends to the abode of the gods.⁵⁹ For the 'journey' of the sacrificer compare, e.g., also *AB* 5. 30.

The above assembling of data is not to argue that the *adhvara*- is always conceived of as something moving, as being en route for the heavenly regions. However, even when this idea is absent the *adhvara*- may be represented as being connected by roads with the celestial abodes of the divine powers. Gods are invited to visit it by the paths which lead to them or serve them as a way, *pathibhir devayānaih* ; see *RV* 4. 37. 1 ; cf. 6. 16. 46 ; 50. 9 ; 7. 84. 1 ; 8. 3. 5 ; 8. 12. 31 ; 10. 17. 7 ; and compare also places such as 1. 47. 2 ; 1. 121. 1 ; 1. 165. 2 ; 10. 32. 2 or 3. 29. 7 where Agni is said to be the *havyavāh*-, 'the bearer of the oblations (to the gods)' at the *adhvaras*.⁶⁰ For gods coming (driving) to the *adhvaras* see also *RV* 1. 4. 13 ; 101. 8 ; 135. 3 ; 5 ; 5. 51. 2 ; 5. 71. 1 ; 6. 68. 10 ; 7. 82. 7 ; 7. 92. 5 ; 8. 66. 1.

The question may even arise whether the term under reference is not used adjectivally. Although semantically wrong Sāyana takes it thus in *RV* 9. 7. 3 where *soma* is said to go at the head of the accompanying words, and (to proceed) towards his seat ; the last pāda *sādmābhī satyō adhvarāḥ* is now usually translated : "(he) the true sacrifice ('oblation',

57. Renou, *Ét. véd. pūn*, XII, p. 120 is silent on this point. Cf. also Geldner, o.c., I, p. 351, whose interpretation of st. 1a of this is disputable.

58. In *AB* 2. 34. 6, I would not translate, with A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, Cambridge, Mass., 1920, p. 159, *rathīr adhvarāṇām* (the sun) by 'charioteer of the offering'.

59. I refer to the remark made by S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, London, 1953, p. 432.

60. In 1. 26. 1, *sēdām no adhvarām yaja*, does not mean "offer these oblations up for us" (Geldner, who translates the same words in 1. 14. 11, otherwise : "consecrate this sacrifice for us") ; the meaning no doubt is : "perform this solemn act of sacrificial worship for us" ; similarly 6. 52. 12.

Geldner), towards his seat.⁶¹ 'The travelling one,' or 'the one who sets off' would however give a very good sense. One might compare *itvarā-*, 'going' (*RV* 10. 88. 4) which is explained by *pathika-*.⁶² Another passage exhibiting this meaning is perhaps *RV* 3. 60. 7: here Indra is 'invited to approach the song of praise of the invoker *stóman jaritūh*, 'on the occasion of (making) an oblation of that which goes on' (?; *adhvārasya hōmani*). Here Sāyana explains: *somasya home*; Geldner translates: "zur Darbringung des Opfers."⁶³ A third passage of interest is *RV* 8. 35. 21, inviting the *Aśvins* to seize or pull towards themselves the sacrificial rites of *Śyāvāśva* as (if these were) reins. Here also Geldner translates *adhvara-* (plur.) by "Opfergaben" ('oblations'). The idea expressed (*raśmīr iva yacchatam adhvarām upa ...*) might however be this: 'touch the rites—which are movable and compared to a vehicle—as a charoiteer seizes the reins (in order to urge the horses on).'

With regard to the combination *yajñam adhvarām* in *RV* 1. 1. 4 Renou observed that an interpretation: "the sacrifice, viz. the ritual requiring, or being incumbent on, an *adhvaryu*" would be too 'precise'. As however *adhvaryu-* is no doubt, with respect to *adhvarā-*, a derivative, we may in attempting to discover the original sense of the latter term, leave the *adhvaryu-* out of consideration.⁶⁴ Could not *adhvarā-* have here its more original sense of 'proceeding on its paths,' the translation of the stanza being: 'O Agni, the sacrifice which thou dost accompany (take care of⁶⁵) when it proceeds on the path, that indeed reaches the gods" (*āgne yam yajñam adhvarām viśvātah paribhñr asi | sá id devēsu gacchati*). In 1. 128. 4, *agnir yajñasyādhavarāsyā cetati*, was translated by Geldner: "Agni knows about sacrifice and divine service." However, as Agni is especially concerned with the conveyance of the sacrificial offerings, one might be tempted to take *adhvara-* here also in the above adjectival sense. Similarly, also in *RV* 8. 10. 4.⁶⁶ The same explication may apply to the phrase *RV* 8. 50 (Val. 2), 10, *médhe adhvaré*, taken by the Geldner⁶⁷ in the sense of 'sacrifice and

61. Cf. Geldner, o.c., III. 15; Bhawe, o.c., I, p. 36; Renou, *Et. véd. pan.*, VIII, 1961, p. 6; cf. however, the same, p. 55.

62. See *Petrograd Dictionary*, I, 793. For the root *andhadh-* see e.g. Johansson, in *IF* 3. pp. 201 ff. (see above).

63. It is, in my opinion, questionable whether *adhvara-* ever denotes 'the oblations (alone)' (cf. also, e.g., Sāyana, on *RV* 4. 2. 10, and Neisser, o.c.).

64. We had therefore better say the *adhvaryu-* is not to be disconnected from *adhvara-* than (with A Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Rgveda* Göttingen-Leipzig, 1913, p. 9, n. 2) that *adhvara-* is not to be disconnected from *adhvaryu-*.

65. See above (*RV* 2. 2. 5).

66. Cf. *RV* 4. 9. 7.

67. Geldner, o.c., II, p. 373.

divine service'; *médha*- being '(the quintessence of) the offering'⁶⁸ could no doubt be regarded as setting out for its destination. Cf. 8. 35. 23, *prásthite adhvaré*; 8. 27. 3, *prá sú na etv adhvaró*;⁶⁹ 5. 22. 2, *prá yajñd etv anuśák*; 5. 26. 8, etc.; 1. 177. 4, *ayám yajñó devayádh*, 'this is the act of worship which goes to the gods.' The *adhvara*'s going on is moreover in 1. 18. 8 connected intimately with its success. The same deity who is said to make the oblations successful is also stated to 'bring the cult forwards' (*prāñcam kṛnoty adhvarám*).⁷⁰ Finally, the mantra *adhvaro yajño 'yam astu devā ośadhibhyaḥ pašave no janāya ...* (TS 3. 1. 9. 3; *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* (Āp.ŚS) 12. 20. 12; 14. 27. 7), usually translated: 'this sacrifice must be harmless for plants, for our cattle, for our folk ...', may admit of a similar translation: '... must proceed (well).'

Among the other Vedic contexts which might shed light on the ideas connected with the term *adhvara*- is *AV* 7. 58. 1, where it—according to Whitney—⁷¹ is said to be Indra and Varuṇa's chariot which is to approach for the feast of the gods (*yuvó rātho adhvaró devāvītaye ... úpa yātu*). The stanza is, however, largely identical with *RV* 6. 68. 10 with which the (Kashmirian) Paippalāda text of the *AV*⁷² concurs in reading *adhvarám*; then doubtless the sense is: 'your chariot must come to the rite.' The reading of the Śaunakīya text might, on the other hand, perhaps mean, 'your travelling chariot'.⁷³ The question may also arise whether *AV* 5. 27. 8, *uśāsānāktēmām yajñām avatām adhvarām naḥ*, could not mean 'let Dawn and Night favour our act of worship' here, which sets out (on its journey); Whitney adopted tentatively the ancient interpretation 'inviolable'. The phrase *urdhvām adhvarām* in st. 9, which must mean 'the rite which tends upwards' would, in that case, continue the same thought, *adhvara*- being elliptically 'the (travelling) rite'. The *adhvara* is in that stanza welcomed by heavenly officiants. The hypothesis of an elliptic origin of *adhvara*- is not falsified by the explication '*adhvara*- means *yajña*' in *SB* 1. 2. 4. 5; 2. 3. 4. 10; 3. 5. 3. 17, because these places only prove that the author of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* regarded both terms as synonyms.

68. Cf. Geldner, o.c., I, p. 469; Renou, *Et. véd. pāṇ.*, Paris, 1958, IV, p. 13.

69. See above.

70. Also *RV* 8. 44. 13, *asmín yajñé svadhvaré*.

71. W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhita*, Cambridge, Mass., 1905, p. 427.

72. L. C. Barret, *The Kashmirian Atharva Veda*, XIX and XX, New Haven, 1940, p. 96.

73. The comm. takes it as an adjective (*himsārahitaḥ śatrubhir aparājitaḥ*).

The denominative verb⁷⁴ *adhvariṇi* occurs in *RV* 1. 23. 16⁷⁵ (= *AV* 1. 4. 1) *ambāyo yanti ádhvabhir jāmayo adhvariṇatām*, 'the mothers (the waters) go on their ways, sisters of those who perform adhvaras.' * In 2. 1. 2; 10. 91. 10 and 11 it practically means 'to officiate as an *adhvaryu*': (Agni is the subject). Cf. also 4. 9. 5; 6. 2. 10. The shorter present stem *adhvaryā*⁷⁶ occurs in 1. 18. 1; *VS* 17. 56. There can be no doubt whatever that *adhvaryu*-, like and beside this verb, derives from *adhvara*- not directly from *ádhvān*-.⁷⁷ Literal translations such as "who is in charge of 'ways and means'," as 'acolyte' (from the Greek *akólouthos*, 'follower', lit. 'fellow-traveller', from *kéleuthos*, 'road, journey'⁷⁹) or as "in charge of the ways"⁸⁰ should therefore not be adopted.⁸¹ Quite intelligibly, the term also applies to Agni: *RV* 2. 5. 6; 3. 5. 4; 4. 6. 4,

74. See e.g. L. Renou, *Grammaire de la langue védique*, Lyon-Paris, 1952, p. 302.

75. St. 17 has already been discussed.

76. That is, *adhvar*-+*-ya-*, cf. e.g. *vadhar*-*ya-ti*, 'to hurl a bolt'.

77. Wackernagel-Debrunner, o.c., II, 2, p. 844.

78. Renou, *Religions of Ancient India*, p. 32.

79. A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, II, Paris, 1956, p. 146.

80. Minard, o.c., I, p. 167, comparing the Latin *pontifex*, 'who makes the bridges' > 'high-priest'.

81. Notwithstanding *RV* 8. 101. 10, *vēty adhvaryūḥ pathibhiḥ rājīsthaiḥ prāti havṛāṇi vīdye* and *AV* 7. 73. 5, *prā vām adhvaryūś caratu*.

ON THE KHILA-VERSE ARVĀNCAM INDRAM

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Dr. V. M. Apte has discussed the *khila*-character of the verse beginning with *arvāncam indram* in his paper entitled "A *khila* hymn which is not so *khila* after all" presented to the Indology Section of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists and published in the *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, III (1965) 17-18. He has tried to show "that the so-called one-verse *khila*-hymn beginning with *arvāncam indram* appended to RV 10. 128, a hymn which consists of nine verses in the Śākalaka recensison, is not a *khila*-hymn, but is really the tenth verse of that hymn." But this conclusion needs examination.

Dr. Apte says (*ib.* p. 18), "The *Taittirīya Samhita* (TS) (4. 7. 14. 1-3) has all the nine verses of RV 10. 128, divided into three *trcas*¹ and immediately followed by the verse, *arvāncam indram* etc." It is true that the *anuvāka* in the *Taittirīya Samhita* consists of ten verses, but it does not follow therefrom that RV 10. 128 really consisted of ten verses. The *Kāthaka Samhita* (KS) 40. 10 consists of eleven verses, not ten as stated by Dr. Apte. *Atharvaveda* (AV) 5. 3 also consists of eleven verses, but the sequence is rather different from that in the *Kāthaka Samhitā*. The verse beginning with *tisro devir mahi naḥ śarma yacchata*, which is found in KS and AV, is absent both in RV and TS. In any case, the position in the *Kāthaka Samhita* and the *Atharvaveda* is not helpful in ascertaining the number of verses in RV 10. 128.

As confirmatory evidence, Dr. Apte has quoted *Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* 3. 9. 2, according to which a student performing the *Samāvartana* ceremony is asked to put ten fire-sticks on the fire respectively with the verses beginning with *mamā'gne varco*. Because there are only nine verses in the hymn, the commentator Gārgya Nārāyaṇa prescribes as the tenth verse, the *khila*-verse *arvāncam indram*. But one fails to understand how this confirms the hypothesis that RV 10. 128 consists of ten verses. On the other hand, the *Āśvalāyana Grhya* reference proves that the hymn consisted only of nine verses, that the verse *arvāncam indram* was a *khila*, and that its position was at the end of RV 10. 128. *Sāṅkhayana*

1. It is not clear what Dr. Apte means by this. The TS *anuvāka* is not divided into three *trcas*.

Gṛhya Sūtra 3. 1. 8 employs the hymn towards *Samāvartana*, but in a different rite, namely, the receiving of a head-band by a student. It does not help the proposition in any way. According to the *Kauṣītaka Gṛhya Sūtra* 1. 1. 1, daily one should get up in the morning, sip water and recite the *svādhyāya* which includes, among others, the hymn beginning with *mamā'gne varcaḥ*.

The most conclusive evidence according to Dr. Apte is the fact that the *khila*-verse *arvāncam indram* contains the word *vihave* which is found in the first verse (*vihaveṣu*) and that in the second verse the hymn *RV* 10. 128 is called *vihavya* and attributed to the Ṛṣi named Vihavya. This evidence cannot be said to be conclusive. It can only prove, at the most, that in some recension of the *Rgveda* the *vihavya*-hymn consisted of ten verses.

Thus the evidence adduced by Dr. Apte is inadequate to establish his thesis. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that in the Śākala recension the *vihavya*-hymn really consisted, from very old times, of only nine verses, that the verse *arvāncam indram* was regarded as a *khila*, and that in some other recension of the *RV* it consisted of ten verses, the verse *arvāncam indram* being the last one. In connection with the adding of fuel to the sacred fires (*anvādhāna*) at the Full moon and the New moon sacrifices, the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* 4. 2. 7-8 prescribe : *mahāvyaḥṛtīnām sthāne catasro vihavyasyā'nupūrvvyena l upasthānam ca śeṣeṇa*. The first four verses of the *vihavya*-hymn (*RV* 10. 128) are to be employed in a peculiar manner towards the adding of fuel to the sacred fires, and with the rest of the verses the sacrificer is asked to pray to the sacred fires. Caland, in his note to the translation of *sūtra* 8, means by the expression *śeṣeṇa* ('the rest') *RV* 10. 128. 5-9. But Varadattasuta-Ānartīya in his *Bhāṣya* on the above-mentioned *sūtra* says : *yo vihavyasya śeṣo devīḥ śalurvīr uru naḥ kṛnotety evamādikah śalarcaḥ saha khailikayā vihavyasye 'ty ṛṣinirdeśāt*. Thus, the commentator regards the verse *arvāncam indram* as a *khila*-verse, but at the same time includes it in the prayer. There is no parallel prescription in the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, because, according to it, the *Adhvaryu* himself is to add the fuel to the sacred fires and the sacrificer is simply to follow it:

There is another piece of evidence which proves conclusively that there were different traditions in the Vedic recensions as regards the number of verses in the *vihavya*-hymn. In connection with the above-mentioned rite, namely, the adding of fuel to the sacred fires (*anvādhāna*) at the Full moon and the New moon sacrifices, the *Baudhāyana Śrauta*

Sūtra 20.1 records the different views of the Ācāryas among which the view of Bodhāyana is as follows: *agninām anvādhāna iti sūtram aupamanyaviputrasya | atro ha smāha Bodhāyano vihavyābhir agnīm anvādadhyaṭ tisṛbhis tisṛbhir ekaikam ye nava samāmaneyuḥ | atha ye 'ṣṭau prathamām vo 'ttamām vā dvir abhyāvartayeyuḥ | atha ye daśa tisṛbhis tisṛbhir ekaikam anvādhāyo 'ttareṇā' havaniyam tiṣṭhan daśamīm nigaded iti.* Here Bodhāyana clearly refers to three different Vedic traditions according to which the *vihavya*-hymn consisted of nine, eight and ten verses respectively. Bodhāyana refers first of all to the tradition of nine verses which belong to the Śākala recension of the *R̥gveda*. It is significant to note that even though Bodhāyana belonged to the Taittirīya recension, he does not refer first to his own tradition of ten verses. The second tradition of eight verses cannot be traced to any recension available now. The next tradition of ten verses belongs to the Taittirīya recension. Bodhāyana has not referred to the tradition of eleven verses found in the *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* and the *Atharvaveda*. Evidently, he aimed at recording the different prescriptions for the guidance of the followers of the other recensions as well. Bhavasvāmin, the oldest Bhāṣyakāra of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, says: *Bodhāyana āha sma sarvaśākhāpratyavatvac chākhāntare samāmnānāt | vihavyābhir agnīm anvādadhyaṭ iti bahuvacanād yāvat samyam tāvad uktam iti | ... yair nava paṭhyante tasmād evam gamyate bahvīnām śākhānām ayam kalpa iti ... evam sarvatra ācāryābhiprāyavacanopapattibhyām vicāryam | granthagauravabhayāt samkṣepeṇo 'cyate.* It would have been better, had the Bhāṣyakāra not restrained himself. There is another commentary called *Subodhinī* on the *Baudh ŚS*. It does not, however, add anything more to what Bhavasvāmin has said. It reads: *kvacicchākhayām nava samāmnāyante kvacic cā 'ṣṭau kvacid daśa, tatra svasvaśākhā'dhyayanānusāreṇa trayāḥ kalpāḥ.*

From the above discussion it will be clear that the verse beginning with *arvāñcam indram* is, in fact, a *khila*-verse and that only in some recension of the *R̥gveda*, not definitely known to us at present, did the *vihavya*-hymn consist of ten verses with the verse *arvāñcam indram* as the tenth verse.

SOME NOTES ON THE BRHADĀRANYAKOPANIṢAD

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*Professor of Sanskrit, Toronto University (Canada)**Bṛ.U* IV. i, जनको ह वैदेह आसां चक्रे ... ।

The division of speakers as translated by Radhakrishnan¹ or Hume² is not very clear ; they insert *iti*-s where there are none in the text. Hume leads off .2 (and therefore the parallel sections) with Yājñavalkya, Radhakrishnan with Janaka. The latter must be right, both because the royal 'we' is more likely and can make sense as 'Janaka and his court', for the king cannot be supposed to be alone.

The Mādhyandina recension of the text (Venkateswara Press, Bombay, 1940) (M) puts the question, "Let us hear what somebody told you," in 1, in continuation of *samrāḍ iti hovāca*. This indicates Yājñavalkya as the next speaker, who says : 'Jitvan Śailini said etc.'" (M switches Jitvan Śailini and Udaṅka Śaulbāyana so that the latter is first.) Yājñavalkya is then going to criticize his teacher, and though this is normally bad form in India, he has been asked to display his powers. Hume makes him criticize Janaka's teachers. The change of speaker should need another *iti*, and there is not another free one till after *kim syad* ; if one understands a double *iti* after *Brahman*, one should do this each time. Yājñavalkya is giving the exhibition. So we have :

"Let us hear what somebody told you."

"Jitvan Śailini said, '*Brahman* is speech'. (In fact) in saying '*Brahman* is speech', Śailini spoke like one who has father, mother and teacher (*i. e.*, this was parrot repetition) would. For what would happen if nobody spoke ?"

"But did he tell you its arrangement and basis ? He didn't tell me."

"This is partial, Emperor."

There is no *iti* between 'Did he tell you' and 'He didn't tell me ;' so they should have been spoken by one person, and it is clear that *me* is Janaka. So *avadato*, 'If nobody spoke', must be Yājñavalkya. I am not sure if the usual (and correct) translation here means anything like, "For, what can

1. *The Principal Upaniṣads*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1953.

2. *Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*, Translated from the Sanskrit, Oxford University Press, 1921.

one have who cannot speak?", literally, 'Of one not speaking what would there be?' But, if we take *avadato* as a genitive absolute, impersonal, we will get a more flexible meaning, but one that will apply in the parallel cases also. *Brahman* is the powerful word, and it is obvious to anyone that there would be no *Brahman* if nobody spoke. But *Brahman* is more, for 'this definition is partial,' *ekapād*. (I confess that I am not satisfied with the strong stem neuter singular, *-pād*; the *Mādhyandina* text does not give an accent till *vā*, *ekapād* then being *pād*, 'without'. There is *Rgveda padū*, but it is masculine; if there could be a feminine we might have, "This is for a fraction," i.e. only a fraction, *ekapād vai*.)

Āyatana and *pratiṣṭhā* are not easy words to render in modern thought. We may say, 'arrangement' and 'base/basis'. *yātaya*=Greek *zeteō* ('seek'), *Atharvaveda* (AV) *yatayeiti*, 'set ones' self towards'; *yat* P. 'place in order, marshal', *Ā*. 'set one's self towards, strive after.' (Cf. *Skt.-Eng. Dictionary*, Monier-Williams (MW), p. 840). *ā-yat* would then be 'arrange towards', and perhaps from that 'the place of arranging', cf. the semantic shift of 'the works'='the place of works, factory.' We may then translate: "Speech is its arrangement; space is its basis; one should worship/consider it as understanding." *Vāc* from its general sense will now have its more particular meaning. Cf. Latin *vox*=coherent speech. Only by coherent speech are *Rgveda*, *Yajurveda* and other things known. Since things are *nāmarūpa*, ('by the name'), which is again *vāc*, we understand (and magically control) the thing. It is possible that the translation of *prajñety enad ūpāsita* should be "Approach/worship it (*vāc-Brahman*) repeating 'Understanding'": this would be the appropriate meditation like a Buddhist *kaśīna*. As to space being its basis, this is asserting its reality and material nature, superfine matter.

We must see if this pattern makes sense in the parallel passages. In the *Kāṇva* recension followed by Śaṅkara and used by Radhakrishnan and Hume, in .3 (.2-4 M) we have "... (obviously *Brahman* is breath); what would be the position if nobody breathed? Its arrangement is life-breath, its basis fine matter; think of it as dear. Life is in fact dear, and for it we even commit unprofessional offences (*ayājyam yājayati*) ..." There are other breaths, e.g. *saṁāna*, and even *vāyu*.

.4 *Kāṇva* (K) (.7-10 M) "... (obviously *Brahman* is sight); what if there was no seeing? Its arrangement is the eye, its basis fine matter; approach it as real. What is its reality? Seeing; sight is its proof."

.5 K (.10-13 M) Similarly with hearing: Since *Brahman* is the sacred word, how could it be if there was no hearing? It would be unknowable. In considering it as endless, we can see that sound goes all around, i.e.,

into all directions, hence the identification with the quarters. The identification being made, the quarters are endless, so hearing is, even though sound fades with distance. We have the same kind of transference of meaning/assertion as between hearing and ear; *Brahman* is hearing, its arrangement is the ear, and hearing is material (in space/place, *ākāśa*); but we have also a useful statement if we take *śrotra*=conversancy with *RV* etc. (*MIW*); *Brahman* is *RV* etc., *Brahman*-knowledge; nothing could exist if that was not known; one should approach it in the endless. The endless can be time or space. Here we might note that Hume and Radhakrishnan take *ananta* as nom. masc.; but it is *enad*, and *priyam* and *satyam* are both adj. neut.: *ananta* may then have to be loc. sing.

.6 K (.13-16 M) Satyakāma Jābāla comes next, with what was Śaṇḍilya's doctrine: *Brahman* is Thought; for if there was no capacity of thought, what would be? Its arrangement is personality (in our sense, including intelligence and will, ideation), its base fine matter; approach/worship it as joy, or with the *kaśīna*-joy (and you will magically have joy). By personality one is brought into a woman (there is something of Gk. *menos* in the meaning here; the son is the father, hence he is caused to be brought into (the woman); (there is no need to emend to *-haryati* with *MIW*); joy is this.

.7 K (.17-19 M) *Brahman* is the heart, which is evidently the Indo-European seat of the intelligence. So its arrangement/form is the physical heart, materially based, and one should think on it as/approach or worship it saying, 'Continued existence' (for, if there is no continuance, *sthiti*, we die).

In each case the *āyatana* is a slightly restricted sense of the definition of *Brahman*. Satyakāma is a great-great-grand-pupil of Yājñavalkya, so that the composition of IV. i must be considerably after c. 740 B.C., his floruit, or one might even say, after his death, presumably towards 700; composition by Sāyakāyana of c. 560 would suit very well. But none of the definitions of *Brahman* is new; what is claimed to be new (or at least completing) is the *āyatana*, *pratiṣṭhā* and the mode of worship or, we suggest, *kaśīna*. But, while we can agree that the elaboration of concentration techniques makes good historical sense at this time, we may note that the *pratiṣṭhās* are all the same, *ākāśa*, space, extension, or better, fine matter. It is not easy to accept void/nothing, we have no experience of it, and a vacuum would be unknown; hence if extension is to be considered, made up of points, points must be superfine matter, *ākāśa*. We suggest that it is against this background that Prakudha Kātyāyana emphasized his atomic theory, followed by Ajita Keśakambalin: when this last says that the senses go off into space, *ākāśam indriyāni samkramanti*, he is not

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very far from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. We can compare *Bṛ.U* III. ii. 13 (also of *Sāyakāyana*) (*apyeti*) *ākāśam ātmā*, 'the *ātman* of the dead man goes to *ākāśa*'. If Ajita held the senses, like *cakṣus*, *śrotra*, *manas* of *Bṛ.U* IV. i. 3-5 as *ākāśa*, fine matter, or depending on it, his doctrine of complete annihilation at death follows, why should that matter retain cohesion any more than gross matter, which evidently does not? If *ātman* is to survive death, it must be non-atomic, or one; this difficulty the *Ājīvakas* try to meet with their individual/octagonal/circular souls; or to the Jains *Jīva* is as big as the body it animates. If however *ākāśa* is immaterial=space (i.e. the physical actions taking place in space), the *āyatana* being the organ, the faculty, *indriya*, being abstract, Ajita's doctrine is again a very simple development. Ajita might have a conception of *ākāśa* like that of the Jains, that which makes space in which events can happen, and indeed that would be quite a possible understanding of *ākāśaḥ pratiṣṭhā*. The conception could be: 'space is points, points are not nothing, and therefore must be made of something, clearly very fine and without sense-qualities'.

IV. i and ii should be taken together, since IV. ii is clearly the same occasion; one would expect the king to have a higher seat, literally, at a public function such as a philosophic display was. We might have here the belief that the king must sit higher than anyone else or he would be looked down on, hence magically subjected. *upa-ava-sarpan* (IV. ii. 1) is literal, 'coming down towards'. We have however reworking of old matter and form, because Janaka is not told where he would go after release. There is some connection with iii. 20, where there is a sudden uncalled-for return to the *nāḍyaḥ* of ii. 3. 4 seems to be a novelty, but the passage needs separate discussion.

The equations of *Brahman* with Speech, Breath, Mind (*manas*) are old, and the group Ear, Eye, Mind are also old; is the Heart, a version of of '(physical) *Ātman*, *Brahman*?' It may be so, to make the transition to the physiology of VI. ii, which may be so construed in the light of the following suggestions. Indra is introduced because of the connection with *indriya*=faculty of sense; there is the old connection between life and fire/heat (cf. our 'spark of life'), hence the introduction of *√indh*=to kindle. The author is thinking of *Śatapatha Brhamaṇa* VI. i. 1.2, where Indra kindled breaths in the middle with *indriya*. The gods like the obscure, and they being kindled emitted seven *puruṣas* variously (=?). These may be the seven openings in the head, of which here in *Bṛ.U* IV. ii. 2, only the right and left eye are selected, perhaps, because of the connection between light and fire. Here we have suitable puns. There is a pervading principle in the left eye; but 'left', *vāma*=*vāma*, 'charming, pleasant', and the greatest

joy is sexual union ; hence this *vāma* must be female ; but in shining around (or the eye would be imperfect), it is *virāj* ; which, feminine, is a metre, usually in two-*pāda virāj* ; hence having two *pādas*, 'feet', she/it is clearly *puruṣa-rūpa*, 'man-like'. Hence the use of the word *saṁstāva* in. 3 (for *saṁgamana*=union), literally 'the place where the *Brahman* recites at the sacrifice'.

But however much the magical pervades the passage, the question is real : how/where does the unification of the senses (whether left and right eyes, or eye and ear, not altering the question) take place ? The answer seems to be in the *ākāśa* inside the heart. Radhakrishnan is probably wrong in hyphenating *antar-hṛdaye* which would be 'in the inside heart' ; the accentuation can be *antār-hṛdaye*. The ancients were probably not aware of all the nerves going to the brain, nor would any activity of the brain be visible medically. But they would certainly know a palpitating heart from the sacrifice, and feeling, and they could see the veins/arteries centering on the heart. Hence the heart must be the uniting place. But we have just seen in IV. i that the senses, eye, mind, depended on *ākāśa*. The food of the senses,—we would say their fuel—is *lohita-piṇḍam*, which should remind us of the later *rajas*. They are *ākāśa*, so this can hardly be anything so coarse as the red lump in the heart, the blood-clot in the heart ; they eat through the *nādi*-s of one-thousandth of a hair-breadth, which are in the heart, the upward artery being only their viable passage to the heart. And, it is by the veins that what flows on flows on, they are *āsravas*. For the meaning of the *lohita* we may look to iii. 20 where the superfine *hitā-nādi*-s are white, (dark-)blue, yellow, green and red. (These, flowing on, will make the colour of the soul ; cf. the Jain idea). Red is *tejo-leśa* to the Jains ; the colour, therefore of heat, fire, suitable for connection with the sight-*puruṣas*. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (Ch. U) VIII. vi. 1 has the same veins, with the same colours (except *pīta* for *harita*) but they are themselves *piṅgalasya aṇimnaḥ* rather than full of red etc. There are 72,000 of these same veins in *Br.U* II. i. 19, and in the parallel passage of *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* the number is not given, but the colours are *śukla*, *kṛṣṇa*, *piṅgala*, *pīta* and *lohita*. In these last passages it is the consciousness that retreats into itself through the *hitā* veins ; in *Br.U* I. ii. 3 we suddenly find this *ātman*, which takes in more refined matter than the bodily self (i.e., the body) and which seems to be differentiated from the senses, (since we have the sudden transition from *enayoh*) which last would seem to reappear in the *āsravad*.

Let us now recapitulate. The active principles of the eyes unite in the *ākāśa*, point-matter of the heart, to which they get through by the minute veins, and there they rest in the *ātman* ; the active principle cannot be

separated from the sense-datum since the eye does not move, and a capacity cannot move, but the sense-datum must get to its uniting-point, and so it is made of *ākāśa*, point-matter. Here we see how close we are to the Jain view of *karma* being material, which is now no longer quaint. On the other hand, with this flowing process, we are very near to the Buddhist *āsrava*; if *manas* is also *ākāśa*, which it must be if it is just another sense, then its processes can be equally material, and flow on to (the *ātman*). Only while the Jains may wash off the flowed matter, if they can, the Buddhist stops the flowing, which, at any given time, is the *ātman*, and is still flowing and uniting in the heart. The inflow of the physical senses (as we call them) is stopped by the *dhyāna*, *samādhi* (concentration) in which the sage ceases to notice. We suggest that these similarities of thought reinforce our view of the date of this part of the *Br.U* as c. 560-50 B.C.

Br.U IV. i-ii develops from II. iii, but the elaboration of *neti neti* must be Sāyākāyana's, as we have it first in III. ix. 26, IV. iv. 22 and v.15 (not in the parallel II. iv. 14). The *agṛhyo na hi gṛhyate* should be connected with the *grahas* and *atigrahas* of III. ii; *aśiryo* is an assertion of *ātman*'s indefeasible unity, which can therefore continue after death, as against Ajita's *ātman*, which, whether the same as or different from the senses, being made up of *ākāśa*, 'point-atoms', dissolved. *asajyo*, I suspect is a denial not of its attachment to/by desire, but the assertion of its fine nature that can pass through the *hitā* veins, cf. IV. iii. 9-21. *asito na vyathate*, I suspect is not correctly translated, since Hume and Radhakrishnan translate *asito* as a finite verb, with no connection with *vyathate*; but it is a participle, and though there is no *hi*, it should explain the manner of *na vyathate*. If we take *asita* from *syati* ('bind'), we might translate, "Though not bound, it does not go astray". The reference will be to the journeys of the soul in sleep or at death, IV. iii. 7 - iv. 24, especially iii. 14. This gives some point to *na ṛṣyati*, 'it comes to no harm' (on the journeys), which the Madhyandina version omits. Version M also entwines the last two, *āsango āsito nā sajyāte nā vyāthate*, but omits the *hi* before *sajyate*, "Not catching, not being bound, it flies through without sticking (*MW*), it does not go astray, stagger." 'It is not mentally distressed', does not make good sense here, though it would in the K version, "Not bound (to a body), it is not distressed." M retains its version of the formula in III. ix and IV. iv, but the whole passage is omitted in IV. v, which is then a faithful copy of II. iv, which may well be correct.

What the north, south, east, west, upward and downward breaths (IV. ii. 4) are is not clear nor why they are plural. The passage is not necessary, as one could go straight from .3, "(The *ātman*) is more an eater of fine

food than the body, it is indescribable, being beyond sense," etc. We may however compare *Ch. U* III. xiii. where *prāṇa* is east, *apāṇa*, west, *samāna*, north, *vyāṇa*, south, *udāna*, upwards; (presumably *avāṇa* would be downwards if the breaths had not got schematized to five, which we suggest was to make a parallel to the five senses. There were once six senses, our five plus *manas*, and this may be why we have the six breath-directions here. The *Ch. U* passage is primitive; the original *Br. U* one may have been not less so, and the ownership of the quarters be by the common word, e.g. one can breathe out, *ud*, *udañc*, therefore, north.

Br. U IV. i. 7, ii. 3 may be reinforced from the answer in iii. 7, to "what is the *ātman*?" It is (M order) *yó 'yám vi-jñānamāyaḥ pūruṣaḥ prāṇēsu hydi antār-jyotiḥ sā samānāḥ sán...*, "Which pervader consisting of discrimination...." The sense-data get down to the *ākāśa* in the heart, where they unite, and the *ātman* that sorts them out, *vi-jñāna*, knows them separately, "We continue....among the breaths/organs in the heart, having inner light, being the *samāna*." *Samāna* is connected with *manas* in *Ch. U*. III. xiii. 2, V. xxii. 2. Neither Hume nor Radhakrishnan translates a *bahuvrīhi* compound in *antārjyotis*, as the accent requires, and neither pays attention to '*vi*'-*jñāna*: in early thought, the various prepositions with *jñā* should be pressed, not equated. We may support our translation *sam-āna* by III. ix. 26, where everything being based on the *samāna*, *sa eṣa neti neti agrhye.....*, "he, being the *samāna*, roams both fields/worlds, sees as it were, flits about as it were, having insight (*sādhiḥ*, M), having become a dream he passes beyond this world." K adds *mṛtyo rūpāni*, 'forms of death', but this looks like a gloss. There is nothing surprising about someone becoming a dream in thought at this time. Hume and Radhakrishnan read *sa hi* for *sādhiḥ* which is *difficilior lectio*, hence preferable, and when Hume translates the *hi*, he contradicts himself, since 'appearing to move' is not transcending this world. The whole passage may be translated: "Which pervader, consisting of discrimination, among the breaths in the heart, having inner light, he/that, being the *samāna* roams both fields/worlds as if in a seeing, as if in a rapidly moving man, with insight, having become a dream, he passes beyond this world."

We have here taken *dhyāyati*, *lelayati* as locatives; this we feel is smoother and explains the absence of *iva* after (anu) *sañcarati*. Locative absolute might be best, "The man moving as it were, seeing as it were.." We also suggest that this interpretation of the passages explains why there is a '*sam*'-*āna*; we have given it a unique function, not leaving it dependent on verbal symmetry. Discrimination implies organization, and this may help us to understand the essentiality of the *vi-jñānamaya*

puruṣa, practically equated with the self in the earlier passage *Br.U* II./i. 17 ff., which needs a little retranslation in Hume and Radhakrishnan.

Br.U. II. i. 16 ff., स होवाच अजातशत्रुः, यत्रैव एतत् सुप्तोऽभूत् . . ।

We suggest a locative sense for *yatra* in the clause .16, *yātraiṣḍ etāt suptó abhūd* : "He spoke, Ajātaśatru, where the (man who had been thus) asleep was.." There is a context for 'where', since Ajātaśatru had taken Bālāki over to the man. This may be supported from the parallel passage *Kauṣ.U* IV. 19, where the first question before the locative one, *kva abhūd* ?, is locative, *kva aśayīṣṭa*, possibly emended from the earlier *Br.U yatra*.

We might get a more lively translation for the phrase *tādu ha nā mene Gārgyāḥ*, emphasizing the perfect and the middle. Gārgya was not in a state of having taken thought with himself on the matter. We can think of the perfect *uvāca* etc. as originally a vivid narrative tense, "Ajātaśatru has said.. 'Gārgya has never thought about this'..."

In .17 Radhakrishnan omits the *ya* of *yā eṣā vijñānamāyāḥ puruṣāḥ*, but the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition and M have it, and it is needed to close off the previous clause, to be taken as in .16. The following phrase might be a gloss, or double gloss, i.e., one added to one already there, which some reader did not find fully intelligible, "This discriminating principle (taking) with (it) the discrimination by means of the discrimination of these breaths/organs (cf. *Ch.U* II. vii. 1) has been lying in the *ākāśa* in the heart.." The point of the phrase comes out in .18, where though the sense organs, *prāṇas*, are asleep, there is a good deal of *vijñāna* going on in the dream state; hence *eṣām prāṇānām vijñānena*. The *vijñāna* of the *prāṇas* were (from *Ch.U* II. vii. 1) breath, speech, eye, ear and mind. and it needed touch (a good pommelling, *peṣa*) to wake the man up. There is, therefore, sense in the phrase *tād eṣām prāṇānām vijñānena vijñānam adāya*... If *vijñānam* goes with *prāṇānām*, then it is not proper to interpose *vijñānena* as Hume and Radhakrishnan do. The phrase is *vijñāna* by 'the *vijñāna* of the *prāṇas*'—there are others, such as touch, which evidently do not make *prāṇa*. We have then 'discrimination by means of the discrimination of the sense-organs (*prāṇas*)'.

tāni yadā grhṇāti (.17). M seems to punctuate this with *tāsmiñc chete*, and this is possible, though it also ends .17 with *sete*. For some reason *grhṇāti* is not accented, and in the next clause *svapiti*, a main verb, is. *tāni* should be the *vijñānas*, neut., but could the original be *tān ni yad grhṇāti*?, *tān* then being the *prāṇas*, masc. When he holds them down, the person is asleep indeed. This does not give the proper place to

etat, and perhaps we should take it as a compound, which the accentuation as written permits; we have *átha haitatpúruṣaḥ svápiti náma. atha* should rather begin a sentence, and is not the proper correspondent to *yadā*, so that this, with the M punctuation, may indicate *tāni yadā grhṇāti* as a gloss. "Then indeed the *puruṣa* of this man sleeps", this might need *etatpuruṣaḥ. tād grhitā evā prāṇo bhāvati, grhitā vāg, grhitām cakṣur, grhitām śrōtram, grhitām mānaḥ*, "then the breath becomes held, the speech, eye, ear, mind held", as against Radhakrishnan, "When the breath is restrained, speech is restrained..."

Again, in .18 (.19 M) *yatra* can be local, "Where he moves round in a dream, these worlds are his"; ('fields' would be better here). There is also a consensus to take *yadā* = *yathā*, and ignore the optative *parivarteta*; M reads *yathā*, but if we keep *yadā*, we must translate: "...these are his worlds/fields... of the object he becomes a high-king as it were...he when a king would... It may retainers and parade round his domain: so, in fact, this *puruṣa* takes... the breaths of this man goes round in his own body at will." I am again tempted to take *etat prāṇān* as a *tatpuruṣa*, though M does give double accentuation. It would again give full sense to *etat*, and there is no reason to suppose that the guinea-pig of this practical philosophy/physiology class is not still present.

The translations do not bring out why the king should move around in his own country; it is a serious matter, not just tourism, and the Celtic kingship throws light on it; the high-king goes round his subordinates clockwise and keeps them in their allegiance; if they do not submit and open their forts for him, they must fight. We have, in fact, an early *dig-vijaya*, hence the necessity of the king, a high-king, *mahā-rāja*, collecting his retainers for the journey. Another parallel with the Celtic kingship is to be found in the title *mahīpati*, not just 'lord of the earth', but 'husband of the land'.

Incidentally *kumāro* in .19 (.22 M) should probably be translated as 'prince', since, M omits *mahārāja* there, and it is added to names for the prince in the Jain canon.

If we take *yadā* and translate as suggested, "he would parade round his domain," one will not have to take *sve śarīre* as closely parallel to *janapade*, though this is quite clearly how the final redactor has taken it. The *viññānamaya puruṣa* is clearly identified here with the *ātman*, and when all beings come from it, there is nowhere else for him to go than the heart. But in B.ṛU IV. iii. 12ff. the soul does leave the body in sleep, and one must be sure of giving it a chance to get back in. Originally then

sve śarīre might have gone with *etat prāṇān gr̥hitvā*, 'having taken the breaths in his own body.' One can think of the *linga-śarīra* of Sāṅkhya, and this is consistent with *yātra svapnyāyā cdrati*.

We may support this from .19, which is not as simple as it looks, 'Then when he becomes in deep sleep, when he knows nothing...' He should hardly be the *viññānamaya puruṣa*, who has been very much awake and is having a lot of experience. He should then be the guinea-pig. 'When the man becomes in deep sleep and knows nothing, then the soul slipping down back through these (*hitā* veins), rests in the *puritat* (pericardium?) (*'pratyavaspya sete'*); 'like a prince or a great brāhmaṇa having attained a summit of joy would rest, just so he rests in respect of this'. When he has had enough enjoyment, the prince would rest, and the soul does just this. What now needs to be explained is the waking process, and this was done in .20 (.23 M), where on the 11 worked over in the interest of the later doctrine, but it remains vivid narrative parallel *Kauṣ.U* IV. 20, though other things are obscured by this 'Kauṣ.U' being later than *Br.U*. The going to sleep is less clear, but the waking is explicit.

Kauṣ.U IV. 20 begins *athāsmiṇ prāṇa evaikadhā bhavati. tad enam vāc sarvair nāmabhiḥ saḥapyeti, cakṣuḥ ...rūpaiḥ ...śrotrām...śabdaiḥ ...manaiḥ ...dhyānaiḥ...* 'Then, in it the *prāṇa* becomes concentrated, to that one the speech goes with all names etc.' This is better than Radhakrishnan's and Hume's: "In this breath he becomes one", since there has been no mention of a breath, but of the *puruṣa*. It also gives a better position of *eva*. The action of the *puruṣa* is then omitted but we go straight on: *...manaiḥ sarvair dhyānaiḥ saḥapyeti. sa yadā pratibudhyate yathāgner jvalataḥ sarvā diśo visphulingā vipratīṣṭheran....*, the simile of *Br.U* .20 (.23 M), "When the man awakes/is awakened...that *prāṇa* (which as we have seen would be the *samāna*, the *prajñātman* (i.e., the *viññānamaya puruṣa*) having entered this body, the self right up to the hairs, the nails', *sa eṣa prāṇa eva prajñātmedam śarīram ātmānam 'anupra'viṣṭa a lomabhya a nakhebhyaḥ...* *Br.U* II: i .20 says in the simile, 'As the spider moves along out by his thread, (explained in *Kauṣ.U* by the soul re-entering to the hairs) as small sparks come out in various directions from a fire (*agneḥ*) (*vyuccaranti*, spelled out in *Kauṣ.U* with *sarvā diśo*), so from this *ātman* (phrase changed in the interest of the later doctrine, but the *prajñātman* of *Kauṣ.U* shows traces of the *viññānamaya puruṣa* than has been the subject hereto) all breaths, all worlds, all beings, all gods disperse', *vyuccaranti*. The breaths are those mentioned in .17 and *Kauṣ.U* IV. 20. *prāṇa*, *vāc*, *cakṣuḥ*, *śrotra*, *manas*, as becomes apparent by comparing *Kauṣ.U*, which says that the breaths disperse according to their stations, *yathāyatanam*, *prāṇebhya*

deva devebhyo lokāḥ, which Hume and Radhakrishnan translate as "from the breaths the sense-powers, from the sense-powers, the worlds." If they do this with authority, then *Br.U* also must mean 'From this *ātman* all *prāṇas*, all sense-powers, all worlds, all existences disperse'; by substituting the *ātman* for this *puruṣa*, and adding 'all existence' (no trace in *Kauṣ.U* of *sarvāṇi bhūtāni*) the passage has been made capable of interpretation in accordance with the latest doctrine of *Br.U* and later, and the impression is strengthened by the fact that this re-wording is at the end of the chapter. The connection of *devāḥ* = 'sense-powers' must be through *Indra/indriya*.

Kauṣ.U too has been bringing itself up-to-date, and the king going round his kingdom is replaced and reworded: As a man of position uses his own and his dependents are of service to him, so the *prajñātman* enjoys the service of the other *ātman*s, i. e. the *viññānamaya puruṣa* that of the senses, and is thought of on the higher level of the *ātman* rather than that of the *puruṣa*. It may well be that the prolonged *phalaśruti* of *Kauṣ.U* was originally in *Br.U* also: "As long as Indra did not understand this *puruṣa*, the *asuras* overcame him, but on learning he became the king of the gods; he wins bestness, lordship who knows this." It is clear that the *Br.U* passage originally explained sleeping and waking. There is a difficulty as to how the soul leaves the body in a dream; the primitive considers that it does, yet sensation does not go out through the extremities, it rather withdraws, hence its final union somewhere in the heart; but we are not told how the *puruṣa* wanders from there, or how he has to come back: is it just that he wants to? We may see elsewhere what we can find on that.

The original of *Br.U* II. i and *Kauṣ.U* IV may well go back to Uddālaka Āruṇi who is accused of bewitching Ajātaśatru's son; if this is a case of friends falling out, we can understand Uddālaka being in a position to know of the kṣatriya's teaching; *ātman* is not a doctrine likely to be ascribed to a kṣatriya later. Ajātaśatru's floruit should be c. 840 B. C. and he belonged possibly to a junior branch of the Janakas. Cf. Kahola Kauṣītaki was a pupil of Uddālaka, Uddālaka is in the *Br.U* *vaṁśa* at 6, but might be the Gautama No. 37 in that of 2 and 4. The common tradition of *Kauṣ.U* and *Br.U* can be thus explained.

VEDIC SCHOLARS IN THE ANCIENT TAMIL COUNTRY AS GLEANED FROM THE SAṄGAM CLASSICS AND SOUTH INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS

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The Vedas, the most ancient inspired writings of the Indian genius, had been the mainstream of Indian civilization from pre-historic times. In South India the Vedic culture had mingled with the non-Vedic long before the advent of the Saṅgam era of Tamil literature, becoming part and parcel of the Tamil culture. Agastya is said to be the first sage to have brought the Vedic culture to the South. He mastered the local Tamil language and enriched it by his own works on grammar, architecture and other sciences to such an extent that he is often taken as a local sage. He carried the Vedic and Tamil cultures also to the far-eastern islands.¹ This was followed by a 'great migration' (*Byhaccaraṇa*) from the north to the south, in which brāhmaṇa-s of the Kaṇḍinya gotra predominated: Like Agastya, the Kaṇḍinyas too contributed to the propagation of the Vedas and in carrying them to far off islands.² A Vedic scholar named Vinṇaḍiyan of the Kaṇḍinya gotra from Puṇjaṇṇūr in the Cola country is praised by poet Āvūr Muḷan Kiḷār in one of the verses of the Tamil Saṅgam classic *Puranānūru*. Vinṇaḍiyan is said therein to have performed twentyone different Vedic sacrifices.³

The Saṅgam classics of the Tamil literature give a clear picture of the position of Vedic scholars in early Tamil society. Karikāla, the greatest among the Cola kings of the Saṅgam age, was a great patron of Vedic learning. At the death of this great king, poet Karuṅḷaḷ Āḍanār sings a suitable epitaph extolling the king's great love for Vedic sacrifices: 'He who stormed his enemies' forts dauntlessly, who feasted his minstrels and their families, who, in the assembly of brāhmaṇas noted for the knowledge of *dharma* and purity in life, performed, being guided by priests learned in their duties and being attended by his noble and virtuous queen, the Vedic sacrifice in which the tall sacrificial post stood

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, (OUP, 2nd edn. 1958), pp. 72-78.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'A note on the Kaṇḍinyas in India', *Artibus Asiae*, XXIV, 3.

3. *Puranānūru*, (Ed. by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, Madras, 1956), 166.

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on a bird-shaped platform within a sacrificial court surrounded by a high wall with round bastions, he, the great and wise king, alas ! is no more. Poor indeed is this world which has lost him. Like the branches of the Veṅgi tree which stand bare when their bright foliage has been cut down by shepherds eager to feed their cattle in the fierce summer, are his fair queens who have cast off their jewels.⁴

Vedic sacrifices were common in the time of Nalamkiḷli who was in possession of Kāverippūmpaṭṭinam. Perunarkiḷli, another powerful Cola king of the Saṅgam age, is the only king of the period who performed *Rajasūya*.⁵ Another poet of the Saṅgam age sings : "This heaven-like country with its divisions, whether it is yours or is owned by others, (i.e., enemies), who are not for you but are against you, belongs, in truth, to the saintly. May you in your life-time pour out water, flower and gold into the outstretched hands of the brāhmaṇas ; drink of the sweet liquor which your servant-maids, glittering with jewels, hold before you in golden cups and in your exultation bestow costly gifts without limit on the needy. Only the good deeds that you do now will stand by you at the time of death, you, monarchs of the white umbrella and pennoned chariot !"⁶

In *Pattuppāṭṭu*, frequent mention is made of the Vedas and those engaged in their study. Nakkīrar, the author of *Tirumurugārṟuppaḍai*, was the son of Kaṇaḱkāyanār who was a Vedic teacher of Madurai. While describing the six heads of God Muruga (Subrahmaṇya), Nakkīrar states that one of His faces was always engaged in protecting the *yāgas* and Vedic scholars who followed strictly the injunctions of the *mantras*. Another face of Muruga was engaged in teaching the meaning of the sacred Vedas to the sages and thereby, like the full moon, brightened the four quarters.⁷ The brāhmaṇas of Eraha, a place famous for another shrine of God Muruga, are said to have followed the six-fold duties of life, viz., studying the Vedas, teaching the same, doing sacrifices, presiding over the sacrifices of others, making gifts and accepting gifts. They are said to be pure in their descent both from the father's and mother's sides. They are said to have the three fires, *Āhavaniya*, *Gārhapatya* and *Dakṣiṇāgni*. They stood as students in the path of the Vedas for fortyeight years and then entered the

4. *Puranānūru*, 224.

5. *Ibid.* 400.

6. Kanagasabhai Pillai, *The Tamils eighteen hundred years ago*, 1904, p. 78.

7. *Tirumurugārṟuppaḍai*, lines 95-98 (*Pattuppāṭṭu*, Ed. by E. M. Gopalakrishna-machariar, Madras, 1961, p. 25).

householder's life. They were known as twice-borns. After taking bath, they allowed their wet clothes to dry on their body itself and placing their hands over the head, sang the praises of Muruga.⁸

Perumbāṇārūppadai, another fascinating section of *Pattuppāṭṭu*, was composed by Kaṭiyālūr Rudramkaṇṇanār who was a brāhman. It gives a graphic description of the different strata of contemporary society in which reference is made to Vedic brāhmaṇas also. The houses of these Vedic scholars used to be cleaned with cowdung; fat calves used to be tied to the posts supporting the *pandars* of their houses. Probably their houses were *parṇasālās*. Dogs and hens were not to be seen there. Because of the constant chanting of the Vedas, the parrots in their houses had acquired proficiency in repeating the mantras. These brāhmaṇas considered the Vedas as their greatest treasure. Their illustrious wives were like Arundhatī, known for their chastity. Their staple food was rice of a particular variety called *Rajanna*. An interesting dish was the unripe *mātula* fruit, with which pulverised pepper and powdered leaves of *karuveppilai* were added, the whole being later fried in butter.⁹

Māṅguḍi Marudanār is the author of *Maduraiikkāñci*, a poem in praise of Neḍuñceliyan, the hero of *Talaiyālaṅgānam*. A graphic description of *Anduṇarpalli*, 'the abode of Vedic scholars', at Madurai, is met with in this poem. According to this description, the brāhmaṇas recited the Vedas understanding their full import, followed the path of *dharma*, were courteous and kind, and performed *yāgas* in order to attain the next world. Meditating upon the greater truth by following Vedāntic learning, they became realised souls. Their abodes resembled excavated caves.¹⁰ Their performance of the *sandhyā* worship is referred to in *Kuriñjippāṭṭu*¹¹ and their offering of clarified butter in sacrificial fire is mentioned in *Paṭṭinappalai*.¹²

The spirit of the Vedic hymns is echoed in a similar strain in *Paripāḍal*, another Saṅgam work. This work, which is a collection of small poems, centres round Tirumāl (Viṣṇu), Śevvel (Muruga-Subrahmanya) and Vaigai (the river of that name). Describing the greatness of Tirumāl, His prowess, kindness etc., each verse ends with the refrain 'So exhort the

8. *Tirumurugārūppadai*, lines 177-89. (*Pattuppāṭṭu*, *ib.*, pp. 38-39).

9. *Perumbāṇārūppadai*, lines 297-310. (*Pattuppāṭṭu*, *ib.*, p. 49).

10. *Maduraiikkāñci*, lines 468-74. (*Pattuppāṭṭu*, *ib.*, p. 87).

11. *Kuriñjippāṭṭu*, line 225. (*Pattuppāṭṭu*, *ib.*, p. 49).

12. *Paṭṭinappalai*, lines 51-55. (*Pattuppāṭṭu*, *ib.*, p. 11.).

Vedas. We also praise thee. Be pleased to grant us boons'.¹³ Ilamperuvaluti, Kaḍuvan Ilaveyinan, Kīrāntaiyār and Nalleḷuniyār are the poets who have thus sung of Tirumāl. It is evident that they have been greatly fascinated by Vedic poetry. While Tirumāl is said to have been praised by the Vedas, Śevvel (God Muruga) is described as the expositor of the Vedas.¹⁴ In this work, the Vedas are mentioned by various names, e.g. *Veda*, *Puḷam*, *Vāymoli*, *Antaṇararumarai*, *Mudumoli*, etc. Vedic ideas are abundantly echoed in these poems.

The post-Saṅgam classics, *Śilappatikāram* and *Maṇimekalai*, make frequent reference to the Vedas and the Vaidikas of contemporary society. It is needless to go into all the references except perhaps refer to the Vedavādins mentioned in *Maṇimekalai*,¹⁵ since it throws light on contemporary philosophic systems. *Maṇimekalai*, the heroine of the work, is said to have learnt all the philosophical systems. Among the systems, she learnt *Vaidika-vāda* divided into five religious systems: (1) *Pramāṇa-vāda*, (2) *Śaiva-vāda*, (3) *Brahma-vāda*, (4) *Nārāyaṇya-vāda* or *Vaiṣṇava-vāda* and (5) *Veda-vāda*. Vedavyāsa, Jaimini and Kṛtakoṭi are described as the authorities of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtras*, while Vedavyāsa is the author of the *Uttaramīmāṃsā* or *Vedāntamīmāṃsā Sūtras*. According to the Vedavādins, the Veda had neither a beginning nor an end. The Kalpa constituted its hands, Chandas its feet, Jyotiṣa its eyes, Nirukta its ears, Śikṣā its nose and Vyākaraṇa its face. The Vedavāda is summed up in the statement: 'The path taught in the Veda is the path of life.'

The Saint-singers of the Tamil country of the 7th century A.D., of both the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava orders, sing of the Vedas and the Vedic brāhmaṇas. The Śaiva saint Appar, contemporary of the Pallava king Mahendra Vikrama, praises Śiva as *Veda-nāyaka*, *Vediyar-nāyaka*, *Vediya*, 'one who sings the music of Vedas' and 'one who is engaged in singing *Chandoga-Sāma*'.¹⁶ Appar's younger contemporary Jñānasambandar was born of a VEDIYAR, Śivapādavediyar of Kaṇḍinya gotra hailing from Śirkālī.¹⁷ It may be mentioned here in passing that eminent South Indian exponents of Vedic thought like Bodhayana and Śaṅkara, belong to this period.

13. *Paripāḍal*, (Ed. by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, Madras, 1956), hymns 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 15.

14. *Ibid.*, hymns 5, 8, 9, 17, 18, 19, 21.

15. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Maṇimekalai in its historical setting*, London, 1928, p. 55.

16. Appar's *Devāram*, (Ed. Tiruppanandal Maṭh).

17. Jñānasambandar's *Devāram* (Ed. Tiruppanandal Maṭh).

It would be interesting to examine the South Indian inscriptions with a view to glean the information contained in them about the role of Vedic scholars in South India. The kings of the Tamil country, irrespective of their territory or leanings, have professed to uphold the *Vaidika-mārga* and protect the *dharma* as enjoined in the Vedas. Palyāgaśalai Mudukuḍimi Peruvaḷudi was, as his name itself implies, a great protector of Vedic Sacrifices and Vedic scholars. The Pallava grant of Kūram, near Kanchipuram, states that in the Pallava lineage there was no king who had not performed the *Soma-yāga*.¹⁸ The Velvikūḍi grant refers to the gift of some land made by this king to a brāhmaṇa, its being taken away during the Kalabhra interregnum and its restoration to the descendents of the donee by Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍayan.¹⁹ Such gifts of lands to Vedic scholars were called *Brahmadeya* and were exempt from taxes. The Pallavas always claimed themselves as *Parama-Brahmanyas*.

Many of the early Pallava copper plate charters refer to the gift of lands as *brahmadeya* to Vedic brāhmaṇas. The Pikira grant of Simhavarman²⁰ records the grant of the village of Pikira in the district named Muṇḍarāṣṭra in the 5th year of Pallava Mahārāja Simhavarman. The village was made over as *brahmadeya* to Vilāsaśarman of the Kāśyapa gotra and of the *Taittiriya-śākhā*. In the second year of Kumāra-Viṣṇu, a gift of land in the village of Cendalūr is recorded. The land amounting to 432 *paṭṭika-s* was gifted as *brahmadeya* to Bhavaskandatrāta of the Kauṇḍinya gotra and Chandoga sūtra. Dharma-mahārāja Vijaya-Viṣṇugopavarman gifted 108 *nivartana-s* of land and a house-site with a garden in the village of Cūra in Karmarāṣṭra to Kesariśarman who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra and was well-versed in the four Vedas.²¹ In the 33rd year of Pallava Skandavarman, a grant of the village of Omgodu-grāma in Karmarāṣṭra is registered as a *sāttvika* gift to Golaśarman of the Kāśyapa gotra, a student of two Vedas and well versed in in the six *āṅgas*.

The Pallava king Nandivarman I gave the village of Kāñcivāyil and four pieces of forest land situated in the district of Ādeyarāṣṭra to Kulāśarman, a follower of the *Taittiriyaśākhā* of the Yajurveda :

18. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II, p. 144 ff. Cf. verse 3 : अब्रह्मण्यम् असोमयागम्
अयथाप्रस्थानदण्डोद्यतम्... || *Ibid.*, p. 148.

19. *Epigraphia Indica* 17 (1923-24) 291-309.

20. *Ibid.*, 8. (1905-06) 159-63.

21. *Ibid.*, 24. 137.

“परमभागधतः पल्लवानां धर्ममहाराजा नन्दिवर्मा आदेयराष्ट्र-काञ्चिवालग्रामम् आरण्य-क्षेत्रचतुष्टयं च पूर्वोपभुक्तमर्यादया काञ्चिवायिलवास्तव्याय ब्राह्मणकौशिकसगोत्राय तैत्तिरीयचरणाय सूत्रप्रवचनाय कुलशर्मणे.....”²²

The Pallava monarch Narasimhavarman II is compared to Vāsava (Indra) in protecting those who frequented the path of the Vedas.²³ He is said to have emptied his treasury in building temples and in donating gifts to Vedic scholars.²⁴

The Pāṇḍya king, Rajasimha gifted to Parāntakaśarman, according to the Sinnamanūr plates,²⁵ the whole of the agrahāra of Narceigaiputtūr, which was famous under the name Mantragauravamāṅgala. Such gifts were made to Vedic scholars on special occasions like the natal star of the king, Uttarāyaṇa and the eclipses, for the prosperity to the kingdom and the ruling monarch and in memory of his ancestors. A Pallava copper plate grant from Udayendiram records an interesting gift.²⁶ The Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla is said to have been imprisoned at Nandipura following a dispute over his ascendancy of the Pallava throne. He was rescued by a chieftain named Udayacandra who won many battles for Pallavamalla. To show his gratitude to this general, Pallavamalla gifted a village to 108 brāhmaṇas as *brahmadeya* and renamed the village as Udayacandramaṅgala :

तद्विज्ञापनया सकलराज्यप्रदातुः असिधारानिष्क्रयार्थं पश्चिमाग्रनदीविषये कुमारमङ्गल-वेल्लाट्टूर कोर्रम् जलयन्त्रद्वयं च उदयचन्द्रमङ्गलमिति नाम कृत्वा अष्टोत्तरशतेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः ददौ ।

The Cola emperor Virarājendra presented, according to his inscription from Kanyākumārī, a ruby called Trailokaśraya for the crown of God Naṭarāja of Chidambaram and endowed many *brahmadeya*-s in the countries of Cola, Tuṇḍira, Pāṇḍya and Gaṅgavāḍi and gratified by gifts of land 40,000 scholars learned in the Vedas:

Many Vedic scholars held important positions in the central government. A certain Brahmaśrīrāja, a great Vedic scholar, who was a *Chandahpāravarapārāga* and *Karmakāṇḍajñānakāṇḍapāṇḍita* is mentioned as the chief minister (*mukhya-mantri*) of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.²⁷

22. *Ibid.*, 15. 251.

23. Cf. त्रयीपथनिषेविनां सततपालने वासवः ।

24. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II, p. 349 : देवब्राह्मणसात्कृतात्मविभवः ।

25. *Ibid.*, III. 441 ff.

26. *Ibid.*, II. 361 ff.

27. *Ibid.*, II. 342 ff.

छन्दःपारावारपारागाय स्वरसमधुरसामगाय छन्दः-कल्प-व्याकरण-ज्योतिष-निरुक्त-शिक्षा-छन्दो-विनिति-षडङ्ग-शित-स्वाध्यायाध्ययनाय पदधर्म-वाक्यधर्म-वस्तुधर्मविज्ञाय श्रुति-स्मृति-रसायनपानाय कर्मकाण्ड-ज्ञानकाण्ड-परिडताय लोकयुक्तिकलाकौशलपेशलाय काव्यनाटकाख्यायिका-इतिहास-पुराण-परिणताय, किं बहुना सर्वज्ञान-विज्ञान-निष्णाताय सर्वकर्मनुष्ठाननिष्ठिताय...श्रीमता बृहस्पतिनेव दिवस्पतेः भुवस्पतेः जननयनहृदयनन्दिनः नन्दिनः पल्लवपतेः निसर्गनीतिविनीतेन विद्वन्मुख्येन मुख्यमन्त्रिणा ब्रह्मश्रीराजेन.....”

The Anbil plates of Sundara Cola mentions a *mānya-saciva* whose father was a teacher, who gloried in a life of learning and instruction, and whose grandfather was an *ahitāgni* and a devotee of God Rāṅgeśa. The Aniruddha-s were a celebrated family of vaiṣṇavas of the Jaiminiyasūtra and the Āvenikagotra hailing from the village of Anbil. They got from the king the title of *Brahmādhirāja* and a perpetual grant of 10 *veli*-s of land as a token of affection. It is remarkable that many of the commanders (*senāpati*-s) in the army were of brāhman extraction and when sufficiently distinguished bore the title of *Brahmādhirāja*. Senāpati Kṛṣṇa-Rāman *alias* Mummidicola-‘Brahma-mārāyan’ of Amankuḍi was Rājārāja’s general who built the enclosure wall of the Rāja-rājeśvara temple of Tanjore.²⁸ His son Aruḷmoḷi, also called Uttamacola-‘Brahma-mārāyan’, was also a *senāpati* who assisted Rājendra about 1033 A.D. in building a temple for the Piḍāri of Kolar. In order to help the Eastern Calukya prince Rājārāja Narendra in Veṅgi, Rājendra sent three of his generals who fought at the battle of Kalidiṇḍi in the neighbourhood of Veṅgi. The chief of these generals was Rājārāja-‘Brahma-mārāyan’ who with his colleagues laid down his life in battle. The battle, however, ended in a resounding victory to Narendra who built temples (*Pallippaḍai*) dedicated to each of them. Mention is made of a spiritual teacher (*guru-devar*) of the king Rājādhirāja I, by name Adhikārigal Pārāśaryan Vāsudevanārāyaṇan, also called Ulagalandaśola-‘Brahma-mārāyan’.²⁹ One Rājārāja Brahmādhirāja who was probably identical with Daṇḍanāyaka Appimayya was the Governor of Mahārājavāḍi 7000 with Vallūr in Cuddapah, as his capital.²⁹ The *brahmadeya*-s were given to a number of scholars well-versed in the Vedas, and the share of each was also duly recorded. Sometimes, the gift of a *Brahmadeya*-village was given to a single person (*Ekabhoga-Brahmadeya*).³¹ The Anbil plates of Sundara Cola refers to such a gift of *Ekabhoga-Brahmadeya*. Though the villages

28. South Indian Inscriptions, II. 139.

29. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 413 of 1902.

30. Ibid., 279 of 1895.

31. On this cf. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Madras University, 2nd edn., 1955, pp. 577-78.

were given to a group of Vedic scholars, others were also permitted to reside in those villages. Occasionally, these Vedic villages were transferred to the temples and the original inhabitants got some other land in exchange. This was done either when the Vedic villages were unable to pay the taxes to the Central Government or when the land was required for the temple. An instance of this is recorded in Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates of Rājendra Cola.³²

The Vedic scholars residing in these 'Vedic villages' had an elaborate administrative system of their own. They organised village assemblies called *Sabha-s*. These *sabha-s* had select committees called *Variyam-s*, which were elected by vote and usually held office for a period of three years. The work on the executive was honorary and no one was expected to spend more than a part of his time. One inscription from Tinneri of the 11th year of Rājārāja (A.D. 996) records the resolutions of the *sabha* of Uttamacola Caturvedimaṅgalam to the effect that only members learned in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas were eligible for service in the *vāriyam-s* and for drafting the resolutions of the assembly. Another *sabha* of which substantial information is known from inscriptions is the one that existed at Uttaramerūr.³³ One who was proficient only in one Veda and in the teaching one *Bhaṣya* was eligible for election to the *sabha* only in exceptional cases.³⁴

These *sabha-s* took an active part in the administration of the local temples. They agreed to be the guardians of lands gifted to the temples and arranged for the proper conduct of the divine services as stipulated in the grants. The members of the *sabha* gifted land to the temples for various purposes, including repairs. All the transactions and resolutions of the *sabha-s* were engraved on stone in the temples which served as places of registration. The gift of land was usually recorded on stone in the local temples and a copy of the same was inscribed on a copper plate and handed over to the donees. The meetings of the *sabha* used to be held in the *maṇḍapas* of the temple. Whenever a temple was newly built, it was a practice to settle there a group of Vedic scholars with a gift of *brahmadeya* land.

That the temples were centres of Vedic learning is attested to by many inscriptions. Vedic colleges called *Vidyāsthāna-s* were established in

32. *South Indian Inscriptions*, III. 402.

33. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 240 of 1922.

34. *Ibid.*, 1930, II. 16.

the temples and provision was made for teaching the Vedas and Vedāṅgas. The students were provided also with free boarding and lodging. The lessons used to be imparted in a *maṇḍapa* or *maṭha* established in the temple for the purpose. The teachers were provided with quarters and were directly responsible for the teaching and the feeding of the students. Both the students and the teachers were expressly prohibited from taking part in the political or administrative life, such as participation in the village *sabha*. Hospitals used to be attached to the temples for the benefit of the sick and disabled students and teachers. Mention is made also of the payment of salaries to teachers of the various subjects.

Higher learning was arranged for those specialising in one or other of the branches of knowledge in institutions called *Ghaṭikāsthāna-s*. The lands gifted to teachers and students of the Vedas and other branches of knowledge were called *Vedavṛtti* or *Bhāṭṭavṛtti* and *Adhyayanāṅga*. There are many references to the seats of higher learning (*ghaṭikāsthāna-s*) which were often attached to temples, the most celebrated *ghaṭikā* being the one at Kāñcī. Tradition holds that an early Pallava king Skandaśiṣya captured this *ghaṭikā* from a king named Satyasena. The Tālaguṇḍa inscription gives a graphic description of how Mayūraśarman, an eager student of the sacred lore, chanced to pick a quarrel with a Pallava horseman at Kāñcī, took to war with the Pallavas and carved out a separate kingdom of his own, as a result of this fight. During the time of Mahendravarman II the temples, the brāhmaṇas and the *ghaṭikā* received large gifts. In the time of his grandson Rājasimha the Kāñcī *ghaṭikā* was reorganised. It is said that all the four Vedas were taught in the *ghaṭikā*:

तत्पुत्रसूनुर्नरसिंहवर्मा पुनर्व्यधाद् यो घटिकां द्विजानाम् ।
शिलामयं वेश्म शशाङ्कमीलेः कैलासकल्पं च महेन्द्रकल्पः ॥
चातुर्वेद्यमवीविधत् स घटिकां भूदेवताभक्तिः ।

There are many references to the role of *ghaṭikā-s* as institutions of higher learning. In the eighth year of Nṛpatuṅgavarman three villages were gifted as *brahmadēya* to the *Vidyāsthāna* at Bāhūr near Pondicherry:

मन्दाकिनीं समायान्तीं ऊर्मिवंशसमाकुलाम् ।
स बभार यथा देवः धूर्जटिर्जटयैकया ॥
विद्यानदी तथागाधा चतुर्दशसमाकुला ।
बाहुग्रामजुषां स्थानं व्याप्य यस्माद् व्यवस्थिता ॥

The college was maintained and organised by the learned men of the village and it taught all the fourteen branches of learning. An inscription from

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Uttaramerūr³⁵ mentions the gift of *Bhāṭṭavṛtti* lands for teaching the Veda, Vyākaraṇa, the two branches of Mīmāṃsā, *Nṛtta-bhāṣya*, *Nyāya-bhāṣya* and *Vaiśeṣika-śāstra* with *ṭīkā*. For this purpose a philanthropic lady had established a *maṭha* on the banks of the lake in the same village. Another inscription from the same place refers to the gift of land as *vyākhyavṛtti* for the teaching of *Vyākaraṇa-śāstra*. An inscription from Tirukkōṣṭiyūr dated in the 11th regnal year of Rājārāja I records the gift of land for the purchase of a lamp and for a Brāhman for teaching Prābhākara-Mīmāṃsā. A similar gift is recorded in the Nāgeśvara temple of Kumbakoṇam.³⁷ In Tiruviḍaikkaḷi a gift of land for maintaining students of Vedānta from the Malayālam country in the *maṭha* established by the donor is referred to.³⁸ An inscription from Śeramādevī, dated in the 9th year of a Pāṇḍya king, refers to a grant made for the study of the *Rgveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda*, for the teaching of the *Śāstras* and for the recital of the *Purāṇas* in the temple of Tuvarāpati Appan. The existence of a Vedic college, *Chandoga-Kiḍaippuram*, endowed by a member of the village executive is attested to by two inscriptions of Aniyūr.³⁹ The *Mahāśabhā* of Aniyūr provided a *Bhāṭṭavṛtti* for teaching the Vedas, the grammatical work *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and other subjects. The *Bhāṭṭa*, it is stated, must be well versed in the Vedas and should be able to teach Vyākaraṇa, Alankāra and the 20-chapter Mīmāṃsā (made up of the 12-chapter *Dvādaśalakṣaṇī* and 4-chapter *Saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa* of Jaimini and the 4-chapter *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa).

During the 5th year of Vīrarājendra Cola, one Vaiśya Mādhava revived the charities in the temple of Tirumukkūḍal, and built the surrounding halls and the Jānānta-maṇḍapa.⁴⁰ In this maṇḍapa were located a college for the study of the Vedas, śāstras, grammar, *Rūpavatāra* etc., a hostel for the students and a hospital. The students were provided with food, oil for bath on Saturdays and oil for lamps. Fifteen beds were provided in the hospital which was called *Viracolan Ātulaśalai*. The following is the list of subjects, teachers and students of the college :

R̥g-veda	...	10 students	...	1 teacher
Yajurveda	..	10 students	...	1 teacher
Vyākaraṇa and Rūpavatāra	...	20 students	...	1 teacher

35. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 39 of 1898.

36. *Ibid.*, 29 of 1898.

37. *Ibid.*, 233 of 1911.

38. *Ibid.*, 274 of 1925.

39. *Ibid.*, 76 of 1932.

40. *Ibid.*, 182 of 1915.

Besides, there were 10 Mahāpañcarātrin-s, 3 Śiva-Brāhmaṇa-s and 5 Vaiṣṇava-s studying their respective texts. It provided for 1642 *kalam*-s of paddy per year for maintaining this school. By far the biggest Vedic college is recorded in the period of Rājendra Cola from Aḷagiya-Narasīṅga Perumāḷ temple at Enṇāyiram.⁴¹ It records that at the order of the king a gift of 45 *veli*-s of land in Ānaṅṅur was made to the temple of Rājarāja Vinṇagar by the assembly of Rājarāja Caturvedimaṅgalam for offerings, festivals, recitation of *Tiruvāymoli* and the maintenance of an educational institution in which the Vedas, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta, were taught. The following is the provision made in the gift :

Subject	Students		Teachers	
R̥gveda	...	75	...	3
Yajurveda	...	75	...	3
Chandoga Sāma	...	20	...	1
Vājasanīya	...	10	...	1
Atharva	...	20	...	2
Baudhāyanīyagṛhya,				
kalpa and gāna	...	10	...	1
Vyākaraṇa	...	25	...	1
Rūpavatāra	...	40	...	1
Prābhākara	...	25	...	1
Vedānta	...	10	...	1

An inscription from Tribhuvani mentions a college in which all the subjects mentioned in Enṇāyiram, except *Prābhākaram*, are mentioned.⁴² It adds *Satyasādhya-sūtra*, *Manu-śāstra* and *Vaiṣṇava-śāstra* besides *Bhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. 260 students and 12 teachers are mentioned in this inscription.

Vedic scholars were appointed in the temples for reciting the Vedas at the times of worship. Their services in the temple included the recitation of the Vedas and the Rudra-sūkta at the time of *abhiṣeka*, performing *adhyayana* when the deity was taken out in procession, reciting *puṇyāha*,

41. *Ibid.*, 333 of 1917.

42. *Ibid.*, 176 of 1919.

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chanting hymns during the daily *homa-s*, bringing water, etc. On festival occasions more scholars were employed for chanting the Vedas. An inscription in the Narasiṅga Perumāl temple of Ānamalai dated in Paṇṭaka Cola's reign records a gift for feeding five Vedic brāhmanas at the time of offering food to the main deity. At Konerirājapuram twentyfive Vedic brāhmanas were fed. An inscription of Kulottuṅga, records an endowment for feeding 50 brāhmanas in a Vaiṣṇava, maṭha on new moon days. A record from Tiruvaḍantai states that it took $5/6$ *kalam-s* of paddy for providing one meal each to twelve brāhmanas. An inscription from Tiruvorriyūr mentions that four brāhmanas who were employed to recite *stotras* and *Vedas* were paid 12 *nālī* of paddy each per day and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kalañju* of gold per annum. In the 13th year of Rājarāja, a gift was made to the temple of Kārkoṭakeśvara at Kāmarasavalli which included 19 *kalañju* of gold, the interest on which was to be given to those who recited the *Talavakāra-Sāmaveda* on the day of Tiruvātirai (*Ārdra*) in the month of Mārgaḷi (*Dhanus*). An inscription from Paṇḍāravāḍai temple, records the award of prizes once a year in a recitation contest to be held in the night of *Ārdra*. The competitors were required to recite a prescribed portion of *Jaiminiya Sāmaveda*.

An inscription from Chidambaram dated in the 16th year of Kopperuñjiṅga mentions various services rendered by Vedic scholars during festivals, such as *adhyayana* during the Car festival and the pronouncement of *svasti* when the deity was taken out. The Vedic scholars not only assisted in temple rituals, but were themselves employed to do the temple rites in the absence of either Śiva-Brahmanas or Śrīvaiṣnavas. In the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Cola it is stated that a Śrīvaiṣṇava Nambi should be appointed to do worship in the temple of Ūragam and if a nambi was not available, a Vedic scholar might be engaged.

Besides teaching the Vedas and participating in the temple rituals, the Vedic scholars took part also in the temple administration as accountants, treasurers etc. as known from the reference to the transfer by Rājarāja of some scholars from certain Vedic villages to act as treasurers and accountants in the Rājarājeśvara temple.

Some of the Kālāmukha ascetics in the Tamil country were Vedic scholars. The Mūvarkoil of Koḍumbālūr was constructed by Vikramakesari, a chieftain, who was a contemporary of Paṇṭaka II. He presented a big maṭha to the glorious Mallikārjuna of the Ātreya gotra,

a man from Madhura, versed in the Vedas and pupil of Vidyārāṣi and Taporāṣi. The chieftain gave eleven villages to the chief ascetic and his guru for the regular feeding of *Asitavaktra* ascetics. Cf :

आत्रेयगोत्रजः श्रीमान् माधुरो वेदपारगः ।

विद्याराशेः तपोराशेः शिष्योऽभूत् मल्लिकार्जुनः ॥

The role of Vedic scholars in the history of the Tamil country is fascinating and calls for a comprehensive survey.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO SARUP'S EDITION OF THE COMMENTARIES ON YĀSKA'S *NIRUKTA**

V. P. LIMAYE

Vaidika Samśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona

PART IV

p. 1, line 3. अनर्थको वकारः ।

As opposed to this, one may refer to Patañjali's view (*Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Keilhorn, vol. I, p. 30, lines 15-18) :

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेर्मन्यामहेऽर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति । वृक्षः ऋक्षः । काण्डीरः आण्डीरः । वृक्ष इति स व'कारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, ऋक्ष इति वकारापाये सोऽर्थो न गम्यते । काण्डीर इति स'क'कारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, आण्डीर इति ककारापाये सोऽर्थो न गम्यते ।

p. 1, line 7. ऋषभो वृषभ इति सहाभिधानात् ।

This refers to *Uṇādisūtra* 3. 123, ऋषिवृषिभ्यां कित् । Cf. M. Mayrhofer, *A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, vol. I, p. 125, on *ṛṣi*:- "Th. Bloch, *Wörter und Sachen*, 2.7 ff. sieht in *ṛṣi*- eine v-lose Nebenform (vgl. अञ्चति, [वञ्चति ; अर्षति, वर्षति; ऋषभः, वृषभः]) von *वृषि—'regnend' ... s. वर्षति ।"

p. 2, lines 3-4. इमे सोमाः श्रयणैः ... ।

This is wrong for इमे सोमाः अरंकृताः भूषणैः अलंकरणैः अलंकृताः भूषिता इत्यर्थः । यास्कः—अरंकृताः अलंकृताः । Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on कृपो रो लः (Pāṇini 8. 2. 18) : वालमूललध्वलमङ्गुलीनां वा लो रमापद्यते इति वक्तव्यम् । (vol. III, p. 398, line 18).

अश्ववालः (तैत्तिरीयसंहिता 6. 2. 1. 5, प्रजापतेः....अश्ववालाः); अश्ववारः (मैत्रायणीयसंहिता 3. 7. 9, प्रजापतेर्वा एतानि पद्माणि यदश्ववाराः) ।

. मूलदेवः, मूरदेवः । Not in Vedic literature. सहमूरान् (ऋग्वेद 10. 87. 19) and सहमूलम् (ऋ 3. 30. 17) would be the appropriate examples.

वरुणस्य लघुस्यदः, वरुणस्य रघुस्यदः । Untraced ; लघुस्यद् is nowhere to be found in Vedic literature.

*Continued from the last Number of this Journal, III. i (March, 1965) 56.

अलं भक्ताय, अरं भक्ताय । Not in Vedic literature. Perhaps wrong for भुक्त्वाय or भक्त्वाय । Cf. Pāṇini 3. 4. 18, अलंखल्वोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां क्त्वा, and 7. 1. 47, क्त्वो यक् ।

सुबाहुः स्वङ्गुलिः, सुबाहुः स्वङ्गुरिः ।

The *Kāśikā* observes at the end of Pāṇini 8. 2. 18 (कृपो रो लः)—
“रलयोरेकत्वस्मरणमिति केचित् । किमिदमेकत्वस्मरणमिति । समानविषयत्वमेव तयोः स्मर्यते इत्यर्थः ।”

p. 3, lines 2, 5-7. शवसानम् (ऋ 6. 37. 3) (=बलायमानम्, यास्क)
शवःशब्दात् बलवचनात् अन्तर्णीतमत्वार्थात् ‘उपमानादाचारे । कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च’
(पा 3. 1. 10-11) इति क्यङ् प्रत्ययः । तदन्तात् ताच्छील्ये शानच् । छान्दसत्वात्
आर्षधातुकत्वम् । अतोलोपयलोपौ । शवसानं बलाचरणशीलम् ।

Sāyaṇa explains *śavasānāya* in *RV* 1. 62. 1 thus .

“प्र मन्महे शवसानाय शूषम्” :—शवसानाय । शव इति बलनाम । तदिवा-
चरते । यथा बलं शत्रून् हन्ति तथा शत्रूणां हन्ता इत्यर्थः । शवसानाय । शव इवाचरति
शवस्यते । अस्माल्लटः शानच् । ‘बहुलं छन्दसि’ इति शपो लुक् । शानचः ‘छन्दस्युभयथा’
(पा. 3. 4. 117) इति आर्षधातुकत्वात् अतोलोपयलोपौ । ‘चितः’ (पा. 6. 1. 163)
इत्यन्तोदात्तत्वम् । ननु क्यङो ङित्वात् ‘तास्यनुदात्ते’ (पा. 6. 1. 186) इति शानचोऽनु-
दात्तेन भवितव्यम् । एवं तर्हि ताच्छीलिकः चानश् (cf. पा. 3. 2. 129, ताच्छील्य-
वयवचन-शक्तिषु चानश्) । तस्य सार्वधातुकत्वेऽपि लसार्वधातुकत्वाभावात् चितः स्वर एव
शिष्यते ।

Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch zum Rgveda* (col. 1410) merely says under
the root *śu* : “Participle des Doppelstammes : शवसान- ।”

BR merely quotes *Unādi* (2. 86) : “छन्दसि असानच् शुजृभ्याम्, (उज्ज्वल-
दत्त— शु गतौ । जृ वयोहानौ । आभ्यां छन्दसि विषये असानच् । शवसानः पन्थाः । जरसानः
पुरुषः ।)”

Macdonell in his *Vedic Grammar for Students*, (p. 163, under § 143. 6),
merely says about these forms : “About a dozen stems, irregularly formed by
adding ‘s’ to the root with an intermediate ‘a’ and taking the regular ending
‘āna’ may be accounted middle ‘s’ aorist participles : e. g. *mand-a-s-ānā*
‘rejoicing’, *yam-a-s-ānā* ‘being driven’.”

The latest in the field is T. Burrow (*Sanskrit Language*, p. 154) who
observes : “There is a series of formations in *-asānā*, most of which have
the character of pseudo participles. Such are : *jayasānā*- ‘far-extending’,
namasānā- ‘rendering homage’, *bhiyāsānā*- ‘fearing’, *mandasānā*- ‘rejoice’

ing', *vr̥dhasānā-* 'growing', *śavasānā-* 'strong', *ar̥śasānā-* 'injuring', *sahasānā-* 'overpowering'. In many cases there exists a neuter *-as-* stem beside these formations : *jr̥āyas-*, *nāmas-*, *śāvas-*, *sāhas-*." Similarly *bhiyās-*; **mandas-*; *vr̥dhās-*; *ārśas-*."

I would have, *a la* Pāṇini 5. 2. 127, an extra sūtra to be numbered 5. 2. 141, शव-आदिभ्यः आनच् with the शव-आदिगण as follows : शवस्, ज्रयस्, नमस्, मन्दस्, वृधस्, अर्शस्, भियस्, सहस् ।

p. 3. line 2. रथ्यासो अश्वाः ।

यास्क—रथे योगाय रथ्याः (अश्वाः) रथस्य बोद्धारः ।

Cf. रथयोग for अश्व in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (Br. U) 4. 3. 10 : न तत्र रथा न रथयोगा न पन्थानो भवन्ति । अथ रथान् रथयोगान् पथः सृजते । *Cf.* also Pāṇini 4. 4. 76, तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम्, and *Kāśikā*, रथं वहति रथः ।

p. 5, line 2. नीचीनवारम् (*RV* 5. 85. 3).

यास्क—नीचीनद्वारम् । व्या—नीचीनं अधोमुखं वारं द्वारं सत् आदिलोपेन वर्णव्यापत्त्या च वारं उदकनिर्गमम् । नीचं वारं यस्य सः नीचीनवारोऽधोमुखविलः तम् । See also *RV* 8. 72. 10 and 10. 106. 10. For जिह्ववारम् see *RV* 1. 116. 9 and 8. 40. 5.

But Mayrhofer (*op. cit.*, p. 171 of vol. II) observes : "नीचीनवारः । ... 'having the brink below'." On Middle Indian *-bāra-* for old Indian *pāra-* 'brink' like जिह्ववार, see *ib.* vol. I, p. 435-36.

p. 5, line 8. यास्क (निरुक्त 10. 4)--उदकमपि कबन्धम् (निघण्टु 1. 12. 6) उच्यते । बन्धिः अनिभृतत्वे । कम् अनिभृतं च । For the style of mentioning a root and its meaning *cf.* Vā. 2 (on Pāṇini 3. 3. 108, रोगाख्यायां एबुल् बहुलम्) : इक्-शितपौ धातुनिर्देशे । महाभाष्यम्—इक्शितपौ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ धातुनिर्देशे वक्तव्यौ । पचतेर्ब्रूहि । (vol. II, p. 154, lines 18-19).

बन्धिः is an example of इक्. The Comm. explains :—प्रसङ्गात् पठ्यमानस्यैव निर्वचनार्थं उपक्षेपः उदकमपीति । निभृतो निश्चलः । अतोऽन्यत् अनिभृतः चलः । कं च तत् अनिभृतं चलं चेत्यर्थः ।

It would be an interesting and rewarding study to frame a *Dhātupāṭha* out of the roots and their meanings given by Yāska in his *Nirukta*. It would be also useful to continue this study in the case of the sūtras of Pāṇini, as for instance :

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3. 3. 69, समुदोरजः पशुषु । ✓अज् ।

3. 3. 99, संज्ञायां समज...इणः । ✓अज् ।

* 7. 3. 60, अजिब्रज्योश्च । ✓अजि and ✓ब्रजि ।

Also in the case of the Brāhmaṇa literature, as for instance, *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* 1. 1. 26 : को धातुरिति । आपृधातुः । अवतिमप्येके । रूपसामान्यादर्थसामान्यं नेदीयः । तस्मादापेक्षेङ्कारः, सर्वमानोतीत्यर्थः ।

p. 6, line 11. नभन्ताम् न भवन्तु मा भूवन्नित्यर्थः ।

In fact, Yāska gives first *mā bhūvan* by splitting the root *nabh* into two parts, *na* (= *mā*) and *bh* (first part of *bhū*).

The commentary rightly refers to *nabhate* (wrongly printed as *nabhati*) as being from वधकर्माणः धातवः । व्या० देवराजयज्वन् नभते । एभ तुभ हिंसायाम् । भ्वादिः आत्मनेपदी । “नभन्तामन्यके समे” इति निगमः ।

p. 7, lines 1-3. रोदयतेर्वा इति इतिहासश्रय निर्वचन, स हि शत्रुकलत्राणि रोदयति ... यदरोदीदिति हरिद्रविकं मैत्रायणीयानाम् ।

Durga explains : हरिद्रवो नाम मैत्रायणीयानां शाखाभेदः । For *Haridru* see *Kāśika* on Pāṇini 4. 3. 104, कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च । ... तत्र कलाप्यन्तेवासिनश्चत्वारः—(i) हरिद्रुः (ii) छगली (iii) तुम्बुरुः (iv) उलपः.....प्रत्यक्षकारिणः (‘direct disciples’) गृह्यन्ते, न तु व्यवहिताः शिष्यशिष्याः । ... कलाप्यन्तेवासिभ्यस्तावत्—हरिद्रुणा प्रोक्तमधीयते हरिद्रविणः ।

As pointed out by Bhagavad Datta in his *Hindi History of Vedic Literature* (vol. I, sam. 2013=A. D. 195९, p. 292), Sāyaṇa says on *RV* 5. 40. 8 : स्वर्भानुमायया सूर्यस्यावृतिर्हिरिद्रविके सपाम्नाता—‘स्वर्भानुश्चासुरः सूर्यं तमसाऽविध्यत् । तस्मै देवाः प्रायश्चित्तमैच्छन् । तस्य यत् प्रथमं तमोऽपाध्नन् सा कृष्णाऽविरभवत् । यद् द्वितीयं सा फातुनी । यत् तृतीयं सा वलक्षी । यदध्यस्थादपाकृन्तन्’ इत्यादि । (Edn. V. S. M., Poona, 1936, vol. II, p. 838).

Cf. also Pāṇini 4. 3. 104, vā. 19, णिनिः अन्तेवासिब्राह्मणेभ्यः, and the *Bhāṣya* thereon : ... हरिद्रविणः ।

p. 11, line 1. वदन् वाक्, पश्यन् चक्षुः, श्रवणात् श्रोत्रम्..... ।

The exact quotation which the Comm. intends to convey is *Br. U.* 1. 4. 7 : ... तं न पश्यन्ति । अकृत्स्नो हि सः । प्राणान्तेव प्राणो नाम भवति । वदन् वाक् । पश्यंश्चक्षुः । शृण्वंश्श्रोत्रम् । मन्वानो मनः । तान्यस्यैतानि कर्मनामान्येव ।

p. 11, line 7. [यास्क— इदं दर्शनादित्यौपमन्यवः ।] सर्वस्य शुभाशुभकर्मणो दर्शनादेवौपमन्यवो मन्वन्ते ।

It seems, the Comm. has in view *RV* 7. 49. 3, सत्यानृते अवपश्यन् जनानाम्, said of Varuna.

pp. 11-12, lines 12, 15 ff. of p. 11. असृजो वि खानि (*RV* 5. 32. 1). The comm. reads विसृजसि विवृणोषि । छन्दसत्वात् परो विः पुरस्तात् द्रष्टव्यः ।

The comm. obviously refers to Pāṇini 1. 4. 80-82, ते प्राग्धातोः । छन्दसि परेऽपि । व्यवहिताश्च । The *Kāśikā* significantly observes on Pāṇini 1. 4. 81 : प्राक्प्रयोगे प्राप्ते छन्दसि परेऽपि अभ्यनुज्ञायन्ते । छन्दसि विषये गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः परेऽपि पूर्वेऽपि प्रयोक्तव्याः । न च परेषां प्रयुज्यमानानां संज्ञाकार्यं किञ्चिदस्ति । केवलं परप्रयोगेऽपि क्रियायोग एषामस्तीति ज्ञाप्यते । ... (Cf. Pāṇini 1. 4. 59, उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे).

p. 12, line 2. विवृत्य च त्वमर्णवान् । भूमि त्वयं मत्वर्थीयो द्रष्टव्यः । 'अर्णसो लोपश्चे'ति । भूमि refers to the *Kārikā* in *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 5. 2. 94, तदस्यास्ति अस्मिन् इति मतुप् (vol. II, 393, lines 15-16) :

भूमनिन्दाप्रशंसासु नित्ययोगेऽतिशयाने ।

संसर्गेऽस्ति विवक्षायां भवन्ति मतुवादयः ॥

There is no such Vārttika as अर्णसो लोपश्च in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 5. 2. 109, केशाद्वोऽन्यतरस्याम्, although later commentators beginning from *Kāśikā* give this as a Vārttika.

p. 12, line 7. यस्त्वं विवः 'मन्त्रे घसहूर' इत्येवं लेलुकि रलोरूपम् ।

On this in Fn. 17 Sarup observes : संदिग्धमिदं पदम् । रलोप इति स्यात् । I think the sūtra should be corrected and be given in its complete form so as to bring to the reader's notice the related roots thus :

मन्त्रे घस-हूर-णच-वृ-दह-आत्-वृज्-कृ-गमि-जनिभ्यो लेः । काशिका—मन्त्रविषये घस...वृ... जनि इत्येभ्य उत्तरस्य लेः लुक् भवति । ...वृ इति वृङ्वृजोः सामान्येन ग्रहणम् । सुरुचो वेन आवः (मैसं 2. 7. 15 ; वासं 13. 3) । ...मन्त्रग्रहणं तु छन्दस उपलक्षणम् । The full text of the mantra is as follows :

ब्रह्म जज्ञानं प्रथमं पुरस्तात् वि सीमतः सुरुचो वेन आवः ।

स बुध्न्या उपमा अस्य विष्ठाः सतश्च योनिमसतश्च विवः ॥

Both the forms आवः and विवः are to be noted. Mahādhara in his comm, *Vedādīpa on Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, 13. 3, observes :

"...वि इत्युपसर्गः आवः इति क्रियापदेन सम्बध्यते । 'व्यवहिताश्च' (पा. 1. 4. 82) इति पाणिनिस्मरणात् । ब्रह्म बृहत् रुक्मरूपोऽयमादित्यः । सीमतः सीमानं मर्यादां भूगोलमध्यभाग-मारभ्य । सुरुचः सुष्ठु रोचन्ते शोभन्ते तान् सुरुचनानिर्माँल्लोकान् वि आवः विवृतानकरोत् स्वप्रकाशेन । विवः विवृणोति । विवः प्रकाशयति, वृणोतेः शपि लुप्ते लङि गुणे च

वः इति रूपं अडभाव आर्षः । 'बहुलं छन्दसि अमाङ्योगेऽपि' (पा. 6. 4. 75) इति वचनात् ।

p. 15, line 2. पर्यपश्यन् मत्स्यं न दीन उदनि क्षयन्तम् (RV 10. 68. 8).

This has a simile which is faintly copied in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 1. 4. 3, thus : तान् (देवान्) उ तत्र मृत्युः यथा मत्स्यमुदके परिपश्येत् एवं पर्यपश्यत् ऋचि साग्नि यजुषि । The vital adjective दीने (said of 'shallow' water) is omitted in the Upaniṣad. Durga nicely explains this simile thus : यथा मत्स्यवन्धोऽल्पे उदके जिघृक्षुः मत्स्यं परिपश्येत् शक्यो ग्रीहीतुमयमिति and so on.

उदनि उदके । उदकशब्दस्य अयं उदन्नादेशः सप्तम्येकवचने । The commentary could have added profitably the relevant Pāṇini-sūtra 6. 1. 63, पद्-दन्-नो-मास्... उदन्-आसन्-शस्प्रभृतिषु । *Kāśikā* :—पाद-दन्त-नासिका-मास्... उदक-आसन्-इत्येषां शब्दानां स्थाने शस्प्रभृतिप्रत्ययेषु परतः पद्-दत्-नस्-मास्... उदन्-आसन्-इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ।

In the *Rgveda* we meet with three cognate forms, उद्, उदन् and उदक, the commonest being उदन्, from which compounds and derivatives are formed : उदग्राभं, उदधि, उदप्रुत्, उदमेघ, उदवाह् and so on, उदनिमत्, उदन्य, उदन्तु, उदन्वत्, उद्र (in समुद्र+अनुद्र) and so on.

p. 15, line 4. अरुना 'अशू व्याप्तौ' ।

अरुना=अश्मना ('by a stone') has nothing to do with अशू व्याप्तौ । अश्र, अश्मन्, अशनि, अश्मर, अश्र—all these words are from the base अश् ('sharp'). See Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 59-61.

p. 17, line 13. The Comm. could have added to "मधु उदकं" the following : 'उदकनामसु पाठात्' (*Nighaṇṭu* 1. 12. 11). Cf. Devarājajayvan's comm. on *madhu* (p. 101) :

मेघोदरवर्ति सलिलं मधु इत्युच्यते । तत्र पुनर्वैद्युतात्मना दह्यमानं सरः स्वर्गेन तद्गतेनैव वायुना ध्मायमानं धमति । (Cf. Kālidāsa in *Meghadūta*, verse 5, धूमज्योतिःसलिल-मस्तां संनिपातः क्व मेघः) । धमतिर्गतिकर्मा वा (निघण्टु 2. 14. 50) अन्तर्णीतिशयोक्तिः कालनेद्रष्टव्यः । निर्धाम्यते निःकल्यते हि तत् मेघात् ।

यद्वा । 'मद्र तृप्तौ' अस्मात् बाहुलकात् उप्रत्ययः । धान्तादेशश्च । माद्यन्ति हि तेन पीतेन प्राणिनः ।

यद्वा । मधुवत् स्वादुत्वात् मधु इत्युच्यते । इमानि स्कन्दस्वामि-निर्वचनानि ।

वैयाकरणपक्षे तु 'मन ज्ञाने' इत्यस्मात् निदिति वर्तमाने (उणादि 1. 9), फलिपाटिनमि-मनिजनानां गुक्पाटिनाकिधतरुच (उणादि 1. 18) इत्युप्रत्ययो धोऽन्तादेशश्च । मन्यतेऽतिशयेन

जनैः इति मधु । मन्तीयं मधु इति भट्टभास्करमिश्रः । 'विद्वान् मध्व उज्जभारा दशे कम्' (RV 10. 5.5).

Sāyana gives two alternative explanations :

(i) मध्वः मदकरात् यज्ञात्, (ii) मध्वः समुद्रोदकात् ।

p. 18, lines 5-7. आह च—

तुल्यश्रुतीनां [भिन्नानां] अभिधेयैः परस्परम् ।

वर्णानां यः पुनर्वादा यमकं तन्निरुच्यते (p. 1. निगद्यते ॥

Sarup says in Fn. 12, अनुपलब्धमूलमिदं वचनम् । This is from *Bhāmaha-Alaṅkāra*, 2. 17 (*Haridas Skt. Series*, No. 61, Banaras, 1928). The preceding and the succeeding verses also might be noted :—

अनन्तरैकान्तरयोरेवं पादान्तयोरपि ।

कृत्स्नं च सर्वपादेषु दुष्कृतं साधु तादृशम् ॥२.१६॥

प्रतीतशब्दमोजस्वि सुश्लिष्टपदसन्धि च ।

प्रसादि स्वभिधानं च यमकं कृतिनां मतम् ॥२.१८॥

p. 18, line 15. The line should be read thus :

यथाकथाच-शब्दो निपातः । 'यथाकथाच-हस्ताभ्याम्' इति भिन्नप्रकृतित्वेन स्मरणात् ।

Sarup rightly points to Pāṇini 5. 1. 98, तेन यथाकथाचहस्ताभ्याम् । कथा is replaced by कथम्, just as इत्या was given up for इत्थम् । Pāṇini has before him this passage of the *Nirukta*, although there is no derivative from this combination यथाकथाच in the *Nirukta*. The *Mahābhāṣya*, later still, uses यथाकथंचित् (see *Bhāṣya* on Pāṇini 4. 1. 52, Vā. 2, 'पाणिगृह्याद्यादीनां विशेषे' इति वक्तव्यम् । पाणिगृहीती भार्या । यस्या हि यथाकथंचित् पाणिगृह्यते पाणिगृहीता सा भवति । (vol. II, p. 221, lines 17-18).

In this connection of यथाकथाच, cf. *Śaḍvīmśa Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 1. 30 ; 34 : "यतमथैव कतमथा चand यतरथैव कतरथा च....."

Remove तर, तम and एव and you get यथाकथाच । The *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini 5. 1. 98 runs thus :

दीयते कार्यं (पा. 5. 1. 96) इति वर्तते । तेन इति तृतीयासमर्थभ्यां यथाकथाच-हस्तशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं गायतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । दीयते कार्यमित्येतयोरर्थयोः प्रत्येकमभिसम्बन्धो यथासंख्यं नेष्यते । यथाकथाच-शब्दोऽव्ययसमुदायोऽनादरे वर्तते, तृतीयार्थमात्रं चात्र संभवति, न तु तृतीया समर्थविभक्तिः । यथाकथाच दीयते कार्यं वा यथाकथाचम् । हस्तेन दीयते कार्यं वा हस्त्यम् ।

The *Nyāsa* on the above passage is illuminating : यथासंख्यं नेष्यते इति । अल्पाक्षरस्य हस्तशब्दस्य परनिपातो लक्षणव्यभिचारस्य वचनहेतुः । तृतीयार्थमात्रं चात्र संभवति । इति । तृतीयार्थस्य गम्यमानत्वात् । तथाहि यथाकथाच दत्तमित्युक्ते अनादरेण दत्तमिति गम्यते । न तु तृतीया समर्थविभक्तिः इति । यथाकथाचशब्दस्य वाक्यत्वात् । प्रत्ययस्तु वचनसामर्थ्यात् वाक्यादपि भवत्येव ।

p: 19, line 11. वास्तुर्वसते: 'वसेरगारे णिच्च' इति ।

This sūtra is really made up of two *Uṇādisūtras* (1. 76 and 77) and not (1. 70) as Sarup says in his Fn. 13 ; these are वसेस्तुन् and अगारे णिच्च, explained by the *Uṇādi* comm. thus : वस निवासे । अतस्तुन् स्यात् । वस्तु द्रव्यम् । वसतेरगारे वाच्ये तुन् णिच् भवति । 'वेश्मभूर्वास्तुरस्त्रियाम्' इत्यमरः ।

p. 20, line 3. शेवः शिष्यतेर्वकारो नामकरणः ।

The derivation of *śiva* or *śeva* in the sense of 'good' or 'happiness' is, to say the least, unconvincing and is explained in a very round-about way. *Śeva* and, later, *śiva* might have come from *śepas*. विभाषितगुणः gives us two grammatical terms made current later by Pāṇini ; they are *Vibhāṣā*, 'option' and *Guṇa* 'gradation' of vowels. The *Uṇādisūtra* 1. 153 given by the comm. as from grammarians is nearer the mark.

p. 20, lines 17-18. यदहरेनं श्रद्धोपनमति is still untraced ; it is just like *Jābāla Upaniṣad*, 4 : यदहरेव विरजेत्...and *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, 1. 2 : तं कुमारं सन्तंश्रद्धाऽऽविवेश ।

p. 23, lines 15-16. The following passage is wrongly printed and the source of the passage is left untraced :

अयं अमशब्दोऽत्र भयवाची । 'न्यावा जज्ञानः पृथिवी अमेधा.' इति यथा । भयं दधाति जनयतीत्यर्थः ।

It should read thus : अमम् अमशब्दोऽत्र भयवाची । 'द्यावा जज्ञानः पृथिवी अमे धाः' इति यथा । This quotation is *RV* 1. 63. 1. Sāyana's comm. on the relevant part reads : अमे असुरकृते भये सति जज्ञानः तदानीमेव प्रादुर्भूतः सन्.....द्यावा पृथिवी द्यावापृथिव्यौ धाः आधारयः । तादृशात् भयात् अममुच इत्यर्थः । ...जज्ञानः । 'जनी प्रादुर्भावे' लिटः कानच् । 'गमहन' इत्यादिना (पा. 6. 4. 98) उपधालोपः । स्थानिवद्भावात् द्विर्भावादि । चितः इत्यन्तोदात्तत्वम् । द्यावापृथिवी इत्यस्य समस्तप्रदस्य मध्ये जज्ञानः इत्यस्य पाठश्छान्दसः । For this last observation of Sāyana, one may consult Pāṇini 4. 2. 32, द्यावापृथिवी° and 6. 3. 29-30, दिवो द्यावा and दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम्, and the comm. thereon; also, Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar* for

Students (§ 186, p. 269) and Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar* (§ 1251 and 1255 ff.).

p. 24, lines 7 8. वळित्या इति द्वे अपि सत्यनामनी । 'अभ्यासे भूयांसमर्थे' मन्यन्ते' (निहत्क 10. 42) इति अथ भूयस्त्वेन अपौनरुक्त्यम् । सत्यम् ।

Here the comm. refers to *Nighaṇṭu* 3. 10, वट् १ । अत् २ । सत्रा ३ । अद्वा ४ । इत्या ५ । ऋतम् ६ । इति षट् सत्यनामानि ।

p. 24, line 18. On यमो ह जातो यमा जनित्वम् ।

The comm. rightly observes : जनित्वं कृत्यार्थे कर्तरि 'कृत्यार्थे तवै-केन्-केन्य त्वनः' (पा. 3. 4. 14) इति भविष्यति (loc. sing. of भविष्यत्) त्वन् प्रत्ययः ।

Another similar word जनित्वम् ('wifehood') has a different formation, viz. जनि + त्व, with a different accent. See the following single occurrence in *RV* 10. 18. 8 :

उदीर्घ्वं नार्यभि जीवलोके गतासुमेतमुप शेष एह ।
हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभि सं बभूथ ॥

p. 26, line 3. On मित्रः कस्मात् । प्रमीतेः त्रायते, the comm. says प्रमीतिः प्रमरणम् ।

प्रमीतिः can as well be explained as प्रमाणम् . Its use in this sense is hardly met with in literature except in the *Vākyapadiya* of Bhartṛhari, 3. 1. 4 :

अस्वातन्त्र्यफलो बन्धिः प्रमाणादीव शिष्यते ।
अतो जात्यभिधानेऽपि शक्तिहीनं न गृह्यते ॥

Helārāja comments thus on this *kārikā* (Ed. Deccan College, Poona, 1963, p. 12) : ननु च दृष्टफले बन्धौ कोऽनुरोध इति आशङ्क्य उक्तम्—प्रमाणादीव शिष्यते । इति । यथा दृष्टफलं प्रमाणादि चोदितं तथा तदङ्गभूतोऽपि बन्धिरिति सर्वथाऽसावनुरोधः । तथाहि असति पशोर्यूपे बन्धने प्रमाणाद्यनुपपत्तौ अवदानाग्रहाभावात् स्वर्गफलस्य यजेरेव असम्पत्तिः स्यादिति तदनुरोधात् तदङ्गसम्पत्त्यर्थं समुचितसाधनाक्षेपः । तत्र प्रमाणं हिंसाप्रारम्भः । मीजो हिंसार्थस्य ल्युटि एज्विषये रूपम् । आत्वे च कृते मानम् । तस्यारम्भः प्रशब्देन द्योत्यते । आदिग्रहणाद् आलम्भनादेरवदानग्रहणपर्यन्तस्य तदुत्तरस्य प्राकरणिकस्य अङ्गकलापस्यानुरोधः ।

For the various operations in the Paśubandha sacrifice see references in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali on Pāṇini 1. 2. 64, Vā. 47 :

गौरनुबन्धोऽजोऽग्नीषोमीय इति । आकृतौ चोदितायां द्रव्ये आरम्भण-आलम्भन-प्रोक्षण-विशसनादीनि क्रियन्ते । (vol. I, p. 244, lines 14-15) and on Pāṇini 1. 1. 44, Vā. 17 : जमदग्निर्वा एतत् पञ्चममवदानमवाद्यत् । तस्मान्नाजामदग्न्यः पञ्चावत्तं जुहोति । (vol. I,

p. 105, lines 7-8). This statement of Patañjali seems to be based on *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1. 7. 2. 8 and *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* 2. 18. 2.

p. 31, lines 1-2. “सर्वस्याप्त्यै सर्वस्यावरुद्ध्यै ।”

Sarup's Fn. 3 speaks of this passage as untraced. This is met with in the *Tait. Samhitā* 7. 1. 4. 2, thus : ज्योतिष्टोमोऽग्निष्टोमः पूर्वमहर्भवति तेजस्तेनावरुद्धे । सर्वस्तोमोऽतिरात्र उत्तरं सर्वस्याप्त्यै सर्वस्यावरुद्ध्यै and in the *Kāthaka Samhitā* 13. 7 : सर्वरूपो भवति सर्वस्याप्त्यै सर्वस्यावरुद्ध्यै .., although in a different context.

pp. 31-32, last line and first line. यथैव (तथैव as corrected) and सर्वा (?) should be totally dropped.

The whole of the relevant passage including the portion quoted by the comm. is from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 13. 7. 1. 1, and bears being reproduced here :

ब्रह्म वै स्वयम्भु तपोऽतप्यत । तदैक्षत—न वै तपस्यानन्द्यमस्ति । हन्ताहं भूतेषु आत्मानं जुह्वानि भूतानि चात्मनि इति । तत् सर्वेषु भूतेषु आत्मानं हुत्वा भूतानि चात्मनि, सर्वेषां भूतानां श्रेष्ठ्यं स्वाराज्यमाधिपत्यं पर्येति । तथैवैतद्यजमानः सर्वमेधे सर्वान् मेधान् हुत्वा सर्वेषां भूतानां श्रेष्ठ्यं स्वाराज्यमाधिपत्यं पर्येति ।

The comm. has given the initial portion of the complete passage also on p. 33, lines 17-18.

p. 32, lines 12-13. पृथिवीमुत द्याम् तास्स्थ्यात् ताच्छब्दम् । पृथिवीस्थां द्युस्थां च देवताम् ।

Here, the comm. follows the *Bhāṣya* of Patañjali on Pāṇini 5. 4. 50, Vā. 3 (vol. II, p. 436, line 21 to p. 437, line 3) :

समीपादिभ्य उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । समीपीभवति । अभ्याशीभवति । अन्तिकीभवति । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति । न ह्यसमीपं समीपं भवति । किं तर्हि । असमीपस्थं समीपस्थं भवति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । तास्स्थ्यात् ताच्छब्दं भविष्यति ।

In this connection the following passage from the *Bhāṣya* on Pāṇini 4. 1. 18, Vā. 3 (vol. II, p. 218, lines 13-19) is illuminating :

.....नावश्यमयमेवाभिसम्बन्धो भवति तस्येदमिति । अयमप्यभिसम्बन्धोऽस्ति सोऽयमिति । कथं पुनरतस्मिन् स इत्येतद् भवति । चतुर्भिः प्रकारैः अतस्मिन् स इत्येतद् भवति । तास्स्थ्यात् तादृश्यात् तत्सामीप्यात् तत्साहचर्यादिति । तास्स्थ्यात् तावत्—मञ्चा इत्यस्ति । गिरिर्दह्यते । तादृश्यात्—जटिनं यान्तं ब्रह्मदत्त इत्याह । ब्रह्मदत्ते यानि कार्याणि जटिन्यपि तानि क्रियन्ते इत्यतो जटी ब्रह्मदत्त इत्युच्यते । तत्सामीप्यात् । गङ्गायां घोषः । कूपे गर्गकुलम् । तत्साहचर्यात्—कुन्तान् प्रवेशय । यष्टीः प्रवेशयेति ।

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p. 34, lines 13 and 14. स्वयं यजस्वेति । यजिः करणार्थः । 'यज देवपूजा-सङ्गतिकरणदानेषु' इति (धातुपाठः 1. 1027) । तदयमर्थः । स्वयं कुरु उत्पादयेत्यर्थः ।

The comm. seems to understand four meanings of *yaja* including *karana* instead of three. As I understand, they are : (1) देवपूजा, (2) सङ्गतकरण (not सङ्गतिकरण) and (3) दान । Cf. *Bhāṣya* on Pāṇini 1. 3. 25, उपान्मन्त्रकरणे (vol. I, p. 281, lines 4-14) :

उपात् देवपूजासङ्गतकरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् । आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते । चन्द्रमसमुपतिष्ठते । सङ्गतकरणे । रथिकानुपतिष्ठते । अश्वारोहानुपतिष्ठते । अपर आह । उपात् देवपूजा-सङ्गतकरण-मित्रकरण-पथिषु इति वक्तव्यम् । सङ्गतकरण उदाहृतम् । मित्रकरणे । रथिकानुपतिष्ठते । अश्वारोहानुपतिष्ठते । पथि । अयं पन्थाः सृध्नमुपतिष्ठते । अयं पन्थाः साकेतमुपतिष्ठते ।

Fn. 16 on p. 34 might be (as corrected above); "पूजासङ्गत- (instead of सहत-) करणदानेषु C."

p. 35, line 16. तरुतारम् । तारयितारं गमयितारमित्यर्थः ।

The comm. seems unaware of the special formation (*nipātana*), a fact which Sāyaṇa has pointed out :

तरुतारं संग्रामे जेता । यद्वा रंहणशीला इमे लोका रथाः । तान् सोमाहरणसमये शीघ्रं तरीतारम् (v.l. तरिवारम्) । श्रूयते हि— 'एष हीमोल्लोकान् सद्यस्तरति ।' (ऐत्रा पञ्चिका 4. अध्याय 20) इति । तरतेस्तृचि "असित-स्कमित.....तरुतृ-तरुतृ-वरुतृ-वरुतृ-वरुतृः ...इति च" (पा 7. 2. 34) इत्यादौ उडागमो निपात्यते ।

Patañjali does not comment on this sūtra. The relevant portion from the *Kaśikā* is being given below : "एतानि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते । ...तरतेः वृङ्त्वोश्च...तृचि उत्, ऊट् इत्येतौ आगमौ निपात्येते । तरुतारं रथानाम् । तरुतारम् । तरितारं तरीतारमिति भाषायाम् ।"

In this connection a more comprehensive statement is found in modern Vedic grammars : "tr agent nouns, often used participally governing an acc. (when the root is generally accented) ; e.g. *gān-tr* 'going to' (acc.), but *kar-tṛ* m. 'doer', *yaṣ-tṛ* 'sacrificer' (✓*yaj*), *us-tṛ* 'ploughing bull' ; less commonly with connecting vowel : *cod-i-tṛ*, 'instigator', *sav-i-tṛ* 'stimulator', *ā-mar-i-tṛ* 'destroyer', *tār-u-tṛ* 'winning' ; *tar-ū-tṛ* 'conqueror' ; *var-ū-tṛ* 'protector' ; *man-ō-tṛ* and *man-o-tṛ* 'inventor'.

"This suffix also forms several names of relationship; e. g. *pi-tṛ* m. 'father', *mā-tṛ* f. 'mother'." (§ 182. 1 b, p. 257, *A Vedic Grammar for Students* by A. A. Macdonell).

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p. 35, line 18. पृतनाजं 'अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते' इत्येवं जयतेर्दप्रत्ययो न जनेः । पृतनानां संग्रामाणां जेतारम् ।

The relevant sūtra here is अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते, Pāṇini 3. 2. 101. Sarup's fn. 17 is misled by the reading in the commentary. The sūtra follows in the wake of Pāṇini 3. 2. 97, सप्तभ्यां जनेर्दः ; the comm. has taken refuge in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini 3. 2. 101 : ...अपिशब्दः सर्वोपाधिव्यभिचारार्थः । तेन धात्वन्तरादपि भवति कारकान्तरेऽपि ।

Sāyana gives alternate explanations : पृतनाजं पृतनानां शत्रुसेनानां प्राजितारं प्रगमयितारं जेतारं वा 'अज गतिक्षेपणयोः' अस्मात् क्विप् । 'वलादौ आर्धधातुके विकल्प इध्यते' (Vā. 2 on Pāṇini 2. 4. 56) इति वचनात् वीभावाभावः जयतेर्वा डप्रत्ययः ।

The difficulty arises because of the *Padapāṭha* which is silent on the point; really the word पृतनाज is to be split up into पृतना + अज (✓अज् 'to drive', 'to hasten') ; see also the abstract noun पृतनाज्यम् from the adjective पृतनाज in *RV*.

The Vārttika quoted above is not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but it seems to have been framed before *Kāśikā* and after *Mahābhāṣya*, embodying the interesting conversation between a grammarian and a charioteer about the use of correct words :

एवं हि कश्चिद् वैयाकरण आह— कोऽस्य रथस्य प्रवेता इति । सूत आह— आयुष्मन् ! अहं प्राजिता इति । वैयाकरण आह— अपिशब्द इति । सूत आह— प्रातिज्ञो देवानां प्रियः, न तु इष्टिः । इध्यत एतद्रूपमिति । वैयाकरण आह— आहो खलु अनेन दुस्तेन बाध्यामहे इति । सूत आह— न खलु वेजः सूतः, सुवतेरेव सूतः । यदि सुवतेः कुत्सा प्रयोक्तव्या दुःसुतेनेति वक्तव्यम् । (vol. I, p. 488, lines 18-22 on Pāṇini 2. 4. 56, अजेः वी अघञपोः).

p. 36, lines 9-10, पञ्च कृष्टीः जात्यपेक्षः स्त्रीलिङ्गनिर्देशः । पञ्च मनुष्यजातीः प्रति इति शेषः । निषादपञ्चमान् वर्णान् प्रति इत्यर्थः ।

Nighaṇṭu 2. 3, lists the following words thus : मनुष्याः १ । नरः २ । ... विशः ५ । क्षितयः ६ । कृष्टयः ७ । चर्षणयः ८ । ... पञ्च जनाः २३ । ... इति पञ्चविंशतिः मनुष्यनामानि ।

Of these, *viśaḥ* and *kṣitayaḥ* denote 'settlers', *kṛṣṭayaḥ* and *carṣanayaḥ*, (both from the cognate roots ✓*kṛṣ* and ✓*crṣ*), denote 'agricultural tribes'; they might be originally five in number. See *Nirukta* 3. 8 :—

पञ्च जनाः मम होत्र जुषध्वम् (*RV* 10. 53. 4). गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसि इत्येके । चत्वारो वर्णाः निषादः पञ्चमः इत्यौपमन्यवः । 'यत् पाञ्चजन्यया विशा' (*RV* 8. 63. 7) पञ्चजनीनया विशा ।

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p. 41, line 17. शंभु and मयोभु in RV 10. 186. 1 are synonymous; but to justify their separate existence the comm. has hit upon the following imaginary distinction :

शमिति सुखनाम । परेण अपौनस्मत्याय तदात्वे इति शेषः । मयोभु सुखस्य भावयितु आयत्तित्वे इति शेषः ।

For the use of *tadāṭva* (present) and *āyati* (future) see *Kaṭīliya-Arthaśāstra*, (Ed. R. P. Kangle, Bombay, 1960, pp. 153, 159) :

स्वपक्षे परपक्षे वा तूष्णीं दण्डं प्रयोजयेत् ।

आयत्यां च तदात्वे च क्षमावानविशङ्कितः ॥ (5. 1. 57);

मतिकर्मसु पृष्ठः तदात्वे च आयत्यां च धर्मार्थसंयुक्तं समर्थं प्रवीणवदपरिषद्भीरुः कथयेत् । (5. 4. 6).

p. 42, line 16. अभिः कर्मप्रवचनीयः प्रतिना तुल्यार्थः ।

This refers to the following sūtras of Pāṇini : (i) कर्मप्रवचनीयाः (1. 4. 83), (ii) लक्षणेऽर्थभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यन्तः (1. 4. 90), (iii) अभिरभागे (1. 4. 91 ; cf. काशिका — लक्षणादिष्वेव भागवर्जितेषु अभिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति । वृत्तमभि विद्योतते । साधुर्देवदत्तो मातृमभि । वृत्तं वृत्तमभि सिञ्चति । अभिभागे इति किम् । भागः स्वीक्रियमाणोऽशः । यदत्र मम अभिध्यात् तद्दीयताम् । यदत्र मम भवति तद्दीयतामित्यर्थः । (iv) प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः (1. 4. 92 ; cf. काशिका — मुख्यसदृशः प्रतिनिधिः । दत्तस्य निर्यातनं प्रतिदानम् । ... अभिमन्युः अर्जुनतः प्रति । माघानस्मै तिलेभ्यः प्रति यच्छति ।)

p. 43, lines 16-17. शिशुं न शिशुमिव । यथा शिशुं बालकमतिप्रियं बान्धवा देवोरक इत्यादिना प्रियवचनेन स्तुयुस्तद्वत् ।

What form of address देवोरक is, one fails to understand ; is it one word or two words, *deva* and *uraka* ? *Uraka* is, perhaps, wrong for *uraga*, which literally means 'breast going' ; See Pāṇini 3. 2. 48, अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः । वा 2. उरसो लोपश्च । (भाष्यम् — उरसो लोपश्च वक्तव्यः । उरगः ।)

p. 44, lines 7-8.

The comm. throws interesting light on the ardent desire of Indian women to have progeny :

दीयते ह्यसौ (गर्भः) पुरुषेण स्त्रियै । तथा च प्रवादः स्त्रीणां प्रत्यग्रगृहीतगर्भाणां 'चिरलब्धो मे गर्भः' इति ।

p. 45, line 6. देवीः षलुर्वीः । देव्यः षट्संख्याकाः विस्तीर्णाः । द्यौश्च पृथिवी च, अहश्च रात्रिश्च, आपश्चौषधश्चेत्येताः । कुत एतत् । सामिधेनीनां पुरस्ताज्जपे 'परमोर्वीरं हंसपान्तु' इत्यादौ दर्शनात् ।

This refers to *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* 1. 2. 1, which is thus quoted by Sāyaṇa on *RV* 10. 128. 5 : एताश्चान्यत्राग्नयन्ते— षमोर्वीः...ओषधयश्चेति । The relevant *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* text (1. 5. 1. 22) is rather different : तत्र जयति । षमोर्वीरंहसस्पान्तु अग्निश्च पृथिवी च, आपश्च वातश्च, अहश्च रात्रिश्च । इत्येता मा देवता आर्तेर्गोपायन्तु इत्येवैतदाह । तस्यो हि न हलाऽस्ति यमेता देवता आर्तेर्गोपायेयुः ।

p. 49, line 7. नदीशब्देन शब्दकारिणीनां अपां स्थाने अन्तरिक्षे ।

This reminds one of several synonyms of 'waters' with their derivatives in the following mantras of the *Atharvaveda*, 3. 13. 1-4 :

यददः संप्रयतीरहावनदता हते ।
तस्मादा नद्यो नाम स्य ता वो नामानि सिन्धवः ॥१॥
यत् प्रेषिता वरुणेनाच्छीर्षं समवलगत ।
तदाप्नोदिन्द्रो वो यतीस्तस्मादापो अनु ष्ठन ॥२॥
अपकामं स्यन्दमाना अवीवरत वो हि कम ।
इन्द्रो वः शक्तिभिर्देवीस्तस्माद्वानाम वो हितम् ॥३॥
एको वो देवोऽप्यतिष्ठत् स्यन्दमाना यथावशम् ।
उदानिषुर्महीरिति तस्मादुदकमुच्यते ॥४॥

p. 50, line 14. पाकेन मनसा परिपक्वेन मनसा ।

This is obviously wrong. Yāska says definitely in *Nighaṇṭu* 3. 12 — पाकः पक्त्वो भवति, 'one who has yet to ripen', i. e., one who is ignorant, as opposed to *dhīra*, 'a wise man'.

The following will show a phase of the development of Sanskrit language from Vedic to Upaniṣadic times and how certain words drop off, yielding place to new ones :

- (i) धीर (also धीर्यो) as opposed to पाक (also पाक्या) in the *Rgveda*.
- (ii) धीर as opposed to बाल in *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*.
- (iii) पण्डित (also पाण्डित्य) as opposed to बाल also बाल्य in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and the *Gītā*.

p. 53, line 1. अजहात् हन्तेर्जहातेर्वा एयर्थस्य रूपम् ।

If means neither हतवान् nor त्याजितवान्, as the comm. says. It is merely त्यक्तवान्, as he later admits, स्वयमेव त्यक्तवान् ।

p. 53, line 11-13. "यत्ते सोम...आप्याययति" इति ।

This quotation, which is *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṃhitā* 4. 5. 4, should be corrected thus :

यत्ते सोम दिवि ज्योतिरिति, [तथा] सोमो वै वाजः, तस्य चन्द्रमास्तृतीयं, अयं यः पवते स तृतीयं (येन यजन्ते स तृतीयम्) इति ।.....ता वा अस्यैतत् तन्वः संभृत्य तं सर्वं सतनुं भूतमाप्याययन्ति ।

p. 56, line 4. 'वायुगोपा वै वनस्पतयः' इति श्रुतेः ।

This is from *Mait. Sam.* 3. 9. 4 :

यद्येकः स्यात्, 'एष ते वायो' इति ब्रूयात् । यदि बहवः, 'एते ते वायो' इति ब्रूयात् । वायूगोपा वै वनस्पतयः (वायूगोपः for वायुगोपः is साहितिको दीर्घः) स्वामेवैभ्यो देवतामपिसृजति एषां लोकानामर्हिसायै..... ।"

p. 56, lines 13-15. चन्द्रमाः.....पञ्चदशपर्णत्वाभ्याम् । एवं च रसायनाधिकारे रूपविशेषणं आयुर्वेदस्मरणात् ।

This is the 29th adhyāya in the *Cikitsāsthāna* of the *Suśrutasamhitā* (Edn. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1945, pp. 611-15) which begins thus : "अथातः स्वभावव्याधिप्रतिषेधनीयं रसायनं व्याख्यास्यामः ॥१॥ यथोवाच भगवान् धन्वन्तरिः ॥२॥

ब्रह्मादयोऽसृजन् पूर्वममृतं सोमसंज्ञितम् ।

जरामृत्युविनाशाय विधानं तस्य वदयते ॥३॥

एक एव खलु भगवान् सोमः स्थाननामाकृतिर्विषयेषु चतुर्विंशतिधा भिद्यते ॥४॥

and so on, until we reach the end of the adhyāya thus :

अत्र सन्त्यपरे चापि सोमः सोमसमप्रभाः ॥३१॥

यैश्चात्र मन्दभाग्यैस्ते भिषजश्चापमानिताः ।

न तान् पश्यन्त्यधर्मिष्ठा कृतघ्नाश्चापि मानवाः ।

भेषजद्वेषिणश्चापि ब्राह्मणद्वेषिणस्तथा ॥३२॥

p. 57, lines 3-4. तथा च श्लोकः— 'सोऽप्यसाधनचन्द्राणाम्' इत्यादि ।

This remains yet untraced ; the meaning of *asāadhanacandra* is not clear ; perhaps the reading is corrupt.

p. 57, lines 8-9. चारु रुचेर्विपर्ययेण । आकारश्च नामकरणो मध्यानुप्रवेशेन ।

This last observation of the Comm. is, to say the least, out-Yāsking Yāska ! Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, in his *Etymologies of Yāska*, (p. 106), seems to have overlooked Skanda-Maheśvara's brilliant (!) suggestion, when he observes : "चारु.....from √रुच्, by metathesis, but even in that case the long आ of चारु remains unexplained."

This *Viparyaya* method of etymologizing is often resorted to by Yāska. Possibly the juxtaposing of *rucivaham* and *cāruvaham* in the *Mahābhāṣya*

seems to follow this line of reasoning. (See vol. III, p. 176, line 6 on Pāṇini 6. 3. 121).

उर्णादि (1. 3), “हसनिजनिचरिचटिभ्यो जुण्” derives *cāru* from the root *car* plus the termination *u*; Ujjvaladatta, the Comm. of *Uṇādisūtra* merely says : चर गतौ । अस्मात् जुण् स्यात् । चरति चक्षुरादिषु इति चारु शोभनम् । *Uṇādi* here follows the alternate derivation given by Yāska (*Nirukta* 8. 15) : चारु चरते ।

For modern attempts, see Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 384.

p. 58, lines 8-9. मृतं च्यावयतीति वा । मृतमिति वर्तमानसामीप्ये । आसन्नमृत्युं च चरमोच्छ्वासकाले (‘when one breathes his last’, so to say) शरीराच्च्यावयतीति ।

The comm. seems to refer to Pāṇini 3. 3. 131, वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा । The *Kaśikā* on this is as follows :

“समीपमेव सामीप्यम् ।वर्तमानसमीपे भूते भविष्यति च वर्तमानाद् धातोः वर्तमानवत् प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति । ‘वर्तमाने लट्’ (पा. 3. 2. 123) इत्यारभ्य ‘उणादयो बहुलम्’ (पा. 3. 3. 1) इति यावत् वर्तमाने ये प्रत्यया उक्ताः ते भूतभविष्यतोर्विधीयन्ते ।यो मन्यते ‘गच्छामि’ इति पदं वर्तमाने काले एव वर्तते, कालान्तरावगतिस्तु वाक्याद् भवति, न च वाक्यगम्यः कालः पदसंस्कारवेलायामुपयुज्यते इति तादृशं वाक्यार्थप्रतिपत्तारं प्रति प्रकरणमिदं नारभ्यते ।.....”

This last observation of *Kaśikā* reminds one of *Bhavabhūti*’s famous saying : जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः । (*Malatimādhava*, I. 6).

p. 62, lines 13-14 (and fn. 17). सर्वा स्त्री मध्यमस्थाना..... ॥

The comm. reads *Bṛhaddevatā*, 5. 47 :

मध्यमा वाक् स्त्रियः सर्वाः पुमान् सर्वश्च मध्यमः ।

गणाश्च सर्वे मरुतो गुणभेदात् पृथक् पृथक् ॥

in the following manner :

सर्वा स्त्री मध्यमस्थाना पुमान् वायुश्च सर्वगः ।

गणाश्च सर्वे मरुत इति वृद्धानुशासनम् ॥

which is exactly what Sāyana gives on *RV* 1. 88. 1 by saying तथा चाहुः ।

Durga, Comm. of *Nirukta*, refers to this thus :

नैरुक्तसमयस्तु सर्वे एव गणाः मरुतः । उक्तं च वार्तिके—

“मध्यमा वाक् स्त्रियः सर्वा पुमान् सर्वश्च मध्यमः ।

गणाश्च सर्वे मरुतो गुणभेदाः पृथक् कृतेः ॥”

p. 64, lines 9 ff. तृष्णाजे न दिव उत्सा उदन्यवे ।

The Padakāra Śākalya has misled the commentators by splitting *trṣṇaja* into *trṣṇa* and *ja*. Hence our Comm. says : तृष्णा पिपासा यस्मिन् काले जायते तथा वा यो जयति स तृष्णाजः ग्रीष्मान्तः तस्मिन्नेव काले..... ।

The hint given by Yāska (*Nirukta* 11. 15) तृष्णाक् तृष्यते । उदन्युः उदन्यते, is taken up by the comm. in the alternate derivation :

तृष्णाक्शब्दनिर्वचनात् । तृष्णाजेशब्दः उदन्यवे इत्यनेन समानाधिकरणः । पिपासाशीलस्य उदककामस्य जनस्यार्थाय.....इति भाष्यकाराभिप्रायः ।शाकल्यस्य तृष्णोपपदस्य जनेः अधिकरणसाधनः कर्तृसाधनो वा डप्रत्यय इत्यभिप्रायः । कुत एतत् । अवग्रहात् । तथा च मन्त्रो व्याख्यातः ।.....

Durga is not helpful ; we fail to understand how Pāṇini 3. 2. 172, स्वपितृषोर्नजिङ्, escaped the attention of the commentators. The *Kāśikā* says :— छन्दसि इति निवृत्तम् । (This is not so ; on the contrary, it is positively necessary.) स्वपेः तृषेश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु (Cf. पा. 3. 2. 134) नजिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । स्वप्नक् । तृष्णाक् ।

In the *Rgveda*, we get the following forms of तृष्णाज्, तृष्णाजः (7. 33. 5) तृष्णाजम् (1. 175. 7) ; तृष्णाजे (1. 85. 11 ; 5. 57. 1) ; अतृष्णाजः (10. 94. 11) ; we do not get स्वप्नज् but there is अस्वप्नज् instead (2. 27. 29 ; 4. 4. 12).

In the formation of these words, Patañjali would advise us, and rightly, to follow his oft-quoted dictum : न लक्षणेन पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः । पदकारैर्नाम लक्षणमनुवर्त्यम् । यथालक्षणं पदं कर्तव्यम् : (Vol. II, p. 85, lines 4-5).

p. 65, lines 11-12. ऋभवो वक्तव्याः ।उरु.....भान्ति उरुशब्दात् ऋकारो रेफोऽज्भक्तिश्च ।

This *aj-bhakti* is the same as the *Svara-bhakti* of the *Prātiśākhya*s. (See K. V. Abhyankar, *Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 408 ; Louis Renou, *Terminologie Grammaticale du Sanskrit*, pp. 536-37).

See *Siddhāntakaumudī*, on अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः (Pāṇini 6. 10. 101) : वा. “ऋति ऋ वा, लृति लृ वा” इत्युभयत्रापि विधेयं वर्णद्वयं द्विमात्रम् । आद्यस्य मध्ये द्वौ रेफौ, तयोरेका मात्रा । अभितोऽज्भक्तेरपरा । द्वितीयस्य तु मध्ये द्वौ लकारौ । शेषं प्राग्वत् ।”

p. 67, line 4. अकृणोतन छन्दसि सर्वविधिव्यभिचारदर्शनात् ।

See in this connection the standard Sūtra of Pāṇini (3. 1. 85, व्यत्ययो बहुलम्) and the *Bhāṣya* thereon :

योगविभागः कर्तव्यः । व्यत्ययो भवति..... । ततो बहुलम् । बहुलं छन्दसि विषये सर्वे विधयो भवन्तीति । सुपां व्यत्ययः । तिङां व्यत्ययः । वर्णव्यत्ययः । लिङ्गव्यत्ययः । कालव्यत्ययः । पुरुषव्यत्ययः । आत्मनेपदव्यत्ययः । परस्मैपदव्यत्यय इति । (vol. II, p. 64, lines 17-21) Patañjali then proceeds to give examples of each of the *vyatyaya-s* from the Vedic literature and ends by the *karikā* :

सुप्तिङुपग्रहलिङ्गनराणां कालहलच्स्वरकर्तृयङां च ।
व्यत्ययमिच्छति शास्त्रकृद्देवां सोऽपि च सिध्यति बाहुलकेन ॥

The *Kaśikā* on the sūtra is also worth noting :

यथायथं विकरणाः शबादयो विहितास्तेषां छन्दसि विषये बहुलं व्यत्ययो भवति । व्यतिगमनं व्यत्ययः व्यतिहारः विषयान्तरे विधानं क्वचिद् द्विविकरणात्, क्वचित् त्रिविकरणात् च ।बहुलग्रहणं सर्वविधिव्यभिचारार्थम् ।

And, then, at the end, the *karikā* of Patañjali quoted above is cited.

In this connection the grammatical portion of Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya* on *akṛṇotana* in *RV* 1. 110. 8d, जिब्रो युवाना पितराकृणोतन, is worth noting :

अकृणोतन । 'कृवि हिंसाकरणयोश्च' (धातुपाठ 599) इदित्वात् नुम् । 'धिवि कृण्वोरच' (पा. 3. 1. 80) इति उप्रत्ययः । तत्संनियोगेन वकारस्य च अकारः । अतो लोपे सति तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् लघूपधगुणाभावः । लङ्मध्यमबहुवचनस्य तशब्दस्य (Cf. पा 7. 1. 44) 'तप्-तनप्-तन-यनाश्च' (7. 1. 45) इति तनवादेशः । तस्य पित्वेन ङित्वाभावाद् गुणः ।

p. 68, line 1. इतौ पूरणौ refers to the two इत्-s in the *pk*—'विरूपाक्षः इत् ऋषयः ते इत् गम्भीरवेपथुः' ।

For these *padapūraṇa-s* see *Nirukta* 1. 9. 10 :—

अथ ये प्रवृत्ते अर्थे अमिताक्षरेषु ग्रन्थेषु वाक्यपूरणा आगच्छन्ति, पदपूरणास्ते मितान्तरेषु अनर्थकाः । कम्, ईम्, इत्, उ इति । 'तमिद् वर्धन्तु नो गिरः' (ऋ 9. 61. 14) तं वर्धयन्तु नो गिरयः स्तुतयः । गिरो गृणातेः ।

Yāska has deliberately not taken cognisance of इत् in his paraphrase to show that इत् is *anarthaka*. Originally इत् meant *eva* and was therefore *sārtha*, 'meaningful'.

p. 68, lines 11-12. ईरतां ईरतेर्गच्छतिकर्मणो लोपमध्यमपुरुषस्य 'आत्मनेपदेष्वन्तः' इति ।

In the first place, *īratām* is not *madhyama-puruṣa* but *prathama-puruṣa* (3rd person) ; in the second place, the sūtra of Pāṇini, namely 7. 1. 5, is 'आत्मनेपदेषु अनतः' and not अन्तः । The *Kaśikā* explains thus :

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आत्मनेपदेषु यो भ्रकारः (पा 7. 1. 3) तस्य अनकारान्ताद् अङ्गाद् उत्तरस्य अत् (पा 7. 1. 4) इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

p. 68, line 14. 'पैत्रीश्च यामीश्च शंसति' इत्यादिस्तुतिकर्मत्वेन सर्वेऽपि सोमसम्पादिनः ।

The passage is *Śaṅkhāyana* or *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (16. 8) which reads as follows : "अक्षरपङ्क्तयः शंसति... अथो शस्त्रस्यैव सेन्द्रतायै पैत्रीश्च यामीश्च. शंसति नाराशंसनेव एतामिरनुशंसति । अथो अन्तभाजो वै पितरः..... ।"

p. 68, line 15 to p. 69 line 2. अवृकाः वृकस्य सादृश्यात् वृको हिंसकः तद्वर्जिता अनुग्राहका इत्यभिप्रायः । तथा च 'अक्रोधनाः शौचपराः' इत्यादिस्मरणम् ।

This *smaraṇa* or *smṛti* is, as Sarup points out, *Manu*, 3. 192 ; it is in connection with *Pitṛśrāddha*. Its full text and the *Bhāṣya* of Medhātithi thereon is worth reproduction here :

अक्रोधनाः शौचपराः सततं ब्रह्मचारिणः ।

न्यस्तशस्त्रा महाभागाः पितरः पूर्वदेवताः ॥ 3. 192 ॥

व्या०— अक्रोधनाः क्रोधवर्जिताः । शौचपराः शौचं शुद्धतां मृद्वारिभ्यां प्रायश्चित्तेनान्तःशुद्धिर्वा । सततं शुद्धेर्विशेषणम् । तेन निष्ठीवनादौ आचमनादि तत्क्षणमेव कर्तव्यम् । ब्रह्मचारिणः स्त्रीसंभोगं परिहरन्तः । न्यस्तशस्त्राः न्यस्तं त्यक्तं शस्त्रं यैः । शस्त्रग्रहणं दण्डपास्त्योपलक्षणार्थम् । महाभागाः औदार्यधनित्वादिगुणयोगो महाभागिता, यद् एवंविधं पितॄणां रूपं ब्राह्मणानां विशति, अतः तैः तद्रूपधारिभिर्भवितव्यम्, इति अर्थवादेन अयमर्थो विधीयते । पूर्वं पूर्वदेवताः पितरो नाम । कल्पान्तरेण तेऽप्येते देवता एव इति स्तुतिः । पूर्वकालं पितॄणामर्चनीयत्वात् पूर्वग्रहणम् ।

p. 70, lines 7-9. तथा चाह 'मेने हिरण्यगर्भस्य' इति । पितृगणा इव... उपसंहरन्नाह— 'य एते गुणमुख्याः पितॄणाम्' इति । 'ऋषिभ्यः पितरो जाताः पितृभ्यो देवदानवाः' इति च ।

Sarup says for both the quotations 'अनुपलब्धमिदं वचनम् ।' The whole passage requires to be corrected in the light of *Manusmṛti*, 3. 194, 200, 201 :

मनोहिरण्यगर्भस्य ये मरीच्यादयः सुताः ।

तेषामृषीणां सर्वेषां पुत्राः पितृगणाः स्मृताः ॥ 194 ॥

य एते तु गणा मुख्याः पितॄणां परिकीर्तिताः ।

तेषामपीह विज्ञेयं पुत्रपौत्रमनन्तकम् ॥ 200 ॥

ऋषिभ्यः पितरो जाताः पितृभ्यो देवदानवाः ।

देवेभ्यस्तु जगत् सर्वं चरं स्थायवतुपूर्वशः ॥ 201 ॥

The curious should go in for Medhātithi's *Bhāṣya* on this, VIJ III (1965)

p. 71, line 11. [स्तुषेय्यं] स्तौते: कृत्यार्थे कसेय्यः (wrongly printed as सेय्यक् which makes no sense)...स्तौतव्यमित्यर्थः ।

Sāyana on RV 10. 120. 6, says : “स्तुषेय्यं स्तौतव्यम् । ‘स्तुवः कसेय्य-श्छन्दसि’ (उणादि 3. 99) इत्यौणादिकः कसेय्यप्रत्ययः ।” The *Tattvabodhinī* on the *Siddhāntakaumudī* on this Uṇādi sūtra rightly observes :

“स्तुवः । धृञ् स्तुतौ । स्तुषेय्यं स्तौतव्यम् । पुरुषर्षसं बहुरूपमिति वेदभाष्यम् । ‘स्तुवः केय्यः’ इति पठित्वा क्त्वात् गुणाभावे उवङि सति ‘स्तुवेय्यः स्यात् पुरन्दरः’ इत्युदाहरन् उज्ज्वलदत्तस्तु उदाहृतश्रुतितद्भाष्यादिविरोधादुपेक्ष्यः । तस्मादिह कसेय्य-प्रत्ययं पठन् दशपादीवृत्तिकृदेव ज्यायानित्याहुः ।”

Grassmann's entry in his *Wörterbuch zum Rgveda* (col. 1594) is informative : “(stuṣēyya), stuṣēyya, adj., preisenwerth [vom Doppelstamm von stu] am *puruvārpasam* (indram) 946. 6.” This formation is *hapax legomenon*, i.e., ‘once said’, word of which only one use is recorded ; linguists will note Skt. *sakṛt* = Av. *hakṛt* = Gk. *hapax*.

p. 71, lines 10, 15-16. आ दर्षते शवसा सप्त दानून्.....आदारयति...बलेन ...सप्त दानून् दातुनुदकस्य मेघान् ।

Really सप्त दानून् = सप्त सिन्धून् । See Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 33 : “*dānu* n. Flüssigkeit, Tropfen, Tau | fluid, drop, dew (RV), vgl. aw. *dānuš* f. Fluss, Strom, osset *don* Wasser, Fluss, ferner arm. *tamuk* feucht ; dazu eine Reihe von Flussnamen wie russ. *Don*. (s. Vasmer I. 362). skyth. *Távaif*, russ. (skyth.) *Dnjepr*, *Dnjestr* (Zweifeln Vasmer I. 354, 355), kelt. *Dānuvius* ‘Donau’ ” and so on. Cf. also दानु in सुदानुः and दानम्, ‘rut-fluid’.

p. 74, lines 15-18. कथंरसा या अतरः पयांसि ।अथवा कथंरसा इत्येतावदेकं पदं प्रथमाबहुवचनान्तम् । या इत्येतदपि पदान्तरं द्वितीयाबहुवचनान्तम् । कथंरसानि किंप्रकाराणि रसानि (Fn. v.l. किंप्रकाररसानि)... यानि त्वमतर उदकानीति शाखान्तरापेक्षमेतद् भाष्यकारस्य व्याख्यानं द्रष्टव्यम् ।

See *Nirukta*, 11. 25 : “कथंरसानि तानि उदकानि इति वा ।” The reading is found in no other *śākhā* that is extant ; the only slag is that there is no *sandhi* of *yā* and *atarah*.

p. 77, line 2. तृप्तस्योन्मीलयति प्रज्ञाम् ।

This, put negatively, means : बुभुक्षितस्य न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् । Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 2. 3. 2, कर्मणि द्वितीया (vol. I, p. 444, lines. 10-11) : ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते । न देवदत्तं प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् । बुभुक्षितं न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् ।

Cf. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (2. 6) : न साम्परायः प्रतिभाति बालम् and *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (6. 7. 2) : न वै मा प्रतिभान्ति भोः ।

p. 78, line 17. “पर्यस्तमयं प्राण उदियात् ।”

The word *paryastamayam* occurs only once in Vedic literature in the *Śaṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* passage (3. 1), the context being the same as explained at length by the commentator :

“यद्दर्शपूर्णमासयोरुपवसति न ह वा अत्रतस्य देवा हविरश्रन्ति तस्मादुपवसति उत मे देवा हविरश्रीयुरिति । पूर्वा पौर्णमासीमुपवसेदिति पैङ्ग्यम्, उत्तरामिति कौषीतकं, यां पर्यस्तमयमुत्सर्पेदिति सा स्थितिः उत्तरां पौर्णमासीमुपवसेदनिर्ज्ञाय पुरस्तादमावास्यायां चन्द्रमसं यदुपवसति तेन पूर्वा ग्रीणाति यद्यजते तेनोत्तराम्, उत्तरामुपवसेत्... एतद्वै देवसत्यं यच्चन्द्रमाः, तस्मादुत्तरामुपवसेत् ।”

p. 80, line 18 to p. 81, line 1. पृथुष्टुके स्तुकः स्थायतेः संघातो नितम्बः केशपाशरूपो वा । यद्वा स्तुकशब्देन स्तुतिरुच्यते ।

Of these, the last does not hold water. Of the first two explanations, the second one is the correct one. In the first, the comm. is led astray by the juxtaposition of the two words *prthuṣṭo* and *prthujāghane* in *RV* 10. 86. 8, where *stu*=*stuka* and *jaghana*=*nitamba* ; we can compare the later *stūpa* or modern Marathi *topa* (*kesāṁcā*).

p. 81, lines 7-10. कुहुः कस्मात् ।क्वामूदिति वा ।क्व सतीः.....हूयते इति वा ।उभयत्र वाक्यार्थे पदवचनम् ।

This is a device or explanation of words which we meet with in one place : *Va.* on Pāṇini 5. 2. 84, श्रोत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते ; भाष्य— किं निपात्यते । वा. श्रोत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते इति वाक्यार्थे पदवचनम् ॥१॥ छन्दोऽधीते इत्यस्य वाक्यस्यार्थे श्रोत्रियन् इत्येतत् पदं निपात्यते । (vol. II, p. 389, lines 2-4).

p. 81, lines 14-24. In connection with Sarup's Fn. 13, see the following from Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*, p. 330 : कुहूमहं सुकृतं (AV, MS, KS, सुकृतं ; TS सुभगां) विघ्ननापसम् । AV 7. 47. 1 ; TS 3. 3. 11. 5 ; MS 4. 12. 6 ; KS 13. 16 ; AS 1. 10. 8 ; ŚS 9. 28. 3.

p. 81, lines 17-18. विद्वानापसं (पदपाठ- विद्वानापसं).

The comm. makes short shrift by saying : अपः कर्म विद्वानाशब्दो विदित-
शब्दस्यार्थे विदितकर्मणम् ।

It is a clear case of *aluk-samāsa* (here *bahuvrīhi*) and it means 'one who works with knowledge or wisdom'; this is a forerunner of the later *jñāna-karma-samuccaya*. This word occurs twice in the *Rgveda* (1. 21. 1 and 1. 111. 1). We reproduce below Sāyana's explanation of the word on the latter *rk* :

विद्वानापसः । 'विद ज्ञाने' । 'अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते' (पा 3. 2. 75) इति दृशिग्रहणात् भावे मनिन् (पा 3. 2. 74) । संज्ञापूर्वकस्य विधेरनित्यत्वात् (नागेश- परिभाषा, 93. 1) गुणाभावः । बहुलवचनात् अलुक् । यद्वा । 'विद्ल लामे' । औणादिको भावे मक् । ततः पामादिलक्षणे नप्रत्ययः (पा 5. 2. 100, लोमादि-पामादि-पिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः) । विद्वानं लामवत् अपः कर्म येषाम् । बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । छान्दसः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः ।

p. 86, line 3. इदमप्यं अप्सु कृतं च व्याख्यातम् । अद्विर्वा संस्कृतं सोमाख्यं हविः ।

Cf. Pā. 4. 4. 134, अद्भिः संस्कृतम् and the *Kāśikā* thereon which quotes this very *rk* as an example :

"निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । अप्शब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थात् संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ।" यस्येदमप्यं हविः (ऋ 10. 86. 12) अद्भिः संस्कृतमिति ।"

p. 90, line 3. अद्भि तृणं अन्धे.....पिव शुद्धमुदकम्..... ।

For this compare the following of later times : *Kāṭha Upaniṣad* (1. 3) : पीतोदकाः जग्धतृणाः and so on.

p. 90, lines 8-9. विश्वदानीं छान्दसत्वाद् विश्वशब्दादपि दानीम् ; सर्वदा ।

In this connection see Pāṇini 5. 3. 17-19, अधुना ; दानीं च ; तदो दा च । The *Kāśikā* on these three sūtras is instructive :

"अधुना इति निपात्यते । इदमोऽशभावोऽधुना च प्रत्ययः । अस्मिन् काले अधुना ।

"इदमः सप्तम्यन्तात् काले वर्तमानात् दानीं प्रत्ययो भवति । अस्मिन् काले इदानीम् ।"

"तदः सप्तम्यन्तात् काले वर्तमानात् दाप्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् दानीं च । तस्मिन् काले तदा, तदानीम् । तदो दावचनमनर्थकं विहितत्वात् ।"

This is what modern grammarians have to say on this point :

“*dā* forms adverbs of time almost exclusively from pronominal roots : *i-dā* now, *ka-dā* when ?, *ta-dā* then, *ya-dā* at what time ?, *sā-dā* and *sarva-dā* always.

“*β. dam* occurs beside *dā* in *sā-dam* always ; and *dā-nīm*, an extended form of *dā*, in *i-dā-nīm* now, *ta-dā-nīm* then, *viśva-dā-nīm* always.” (*A Vedic Grammar for Students*, by A. A. Macdonell, § 179, p. 213).

p. 92, lines 3, 9-11. सा नो अमा सो अरणे नि पातुः..... ।

अमा गृहनामेदं (निघण्टु 3. 4. 11) गृहे । ...अरणे अर्तेर्गतिकर्मणः शुद्धस्यापि उपसृष्टार्थे वर्तमानस्येदं रूपम् । निररणे निर्गमने गृहाद् बहिश्च... ।

Araṇa is the same as *araṇya*. This pair is seen as *grāme* and *araṇye* in later (e.g. Upaniṣadic) literature ; the other R̥gvedic pair is *sva* or *nitya* and *araṇa* or *anya*.

p. 93, line 8. चीवरशब्दो लोहवचनः ।

See *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, 4. 9. 7, विदूयमाने चीवरम् and its comm. : हुडु उपतापे । विविधं दूयमाने उपतप्यमाने विदूयमाने कस्मिन् । गोष्ठे । कुतः । अधिकारात् सप्तमीप्रयोगाच्च । चीवरशब्देन लोहचूर्णमुच्यते— ‘लोहचूर्णे तु चीवरं’ इति वचनात् । See also *Karmapradīpa*, 3. 9. 18—पलाशा गोलकाश्चैव लोहचूर्णे तु चीवरम् । (*Calcutta Sanskrit Series*, vol I, p. 862).

p. 93, lines 10-11. अथवा ‘संप्रधानेषु अग्निषु अस्मिन् दक्षिणे युक्त उपोह्य चीवरम् इति वस्त्रं किं परिच्छेदसूत्रचीवरशब्दवाच्यम् ।

This is from *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, 2. 16. 1-2 and should be corrected accordingly, thus :

“वास्तोष्पतीयं ध्रौव्ये दशरात्रावरार्धे संप्रयातेषु ॥१॥

अग्निष्ठस्य (अनसः) दक्षिणे युक्त उपोह्य चीवरम् ॥२॥

p. 93, line 17 to p. 94, line 3. एतदस्या अनः शये सुसंषिष्टं विपाश्या ।... अर्धचोन्नतर आकारः शये इत्यत्र सम्बध्यते । आशये ‘शीङ् स्वप्ने’ आशेते आभिमुख्येन भूयसां तिष्ठतीत्यर्थः । ...विपाशि पाशि बन्धनं विगतं पाशि यस्मात् तत् विमुक्तपाशं विच्छिन्नसर्वसम्बन्धनमित्यर्थः ।

Vipāśi is the loc. sing. of *vipāś* and the *upasarga* ‘*ā*’ governs the locative without changing the sense in any way ; cf. *RV* 1. 25. 15, अस्माकमुदरेष्वा ।

Sāyaṇa correctly understands *vipāśi* when he observes:— विपाशि । विपाडाख्या नदी, तस्यां तत्तीरे ।

Other references of this Vedic river (modern Bias in the Punjab) are RV 3. 33. 1 and 3 (*Vipāt* and *Vipāsam*, nom. and acc. sing. respectively of *Vipās*).

Nirukta, 9. 26, says about this river : आर्जीकीयां (ऋ 10. 75. 5) विपाडित्याहुः ।...

‘पाशां अस्यां व्यपाश्यन्त वासिष्ठस्य मुमूर्षतः ।
तस्माद्विपाड्यते पूर्वमासीदुर्जिरा ॥

So, we get three names of this river : आर्जीकीया, उर्जिरा and विपाश् । *Vipās* has been mentioned by (Pāṇini 4. 2. 74, उदक् च विपाशः) on which the *Kāśikā* minutely observes the penetrating intellect of Pāṇini thus :

विपाशः उत्तरे कूले ये कूपाः तेषु अभिधेयेषु (4. 2. 74) अञ् प्रत्ययो (71) भवति चातुरर्थिकः । ...दत्तेन निर्वृत्तः (68) कृपः दात्तः । गौप्तः । उदगिति किम् । दक्षिणतो विपाशः कूपेषु अण्वेव । दात्तः । गौप्तः । स्वरे विशेषः । महती सूक्ष्मेक्षिका वर्तते सूत्रकारस्य ।

According to Patañjali (vol. I, p. 80, line 19) Pāṇini has in view this word *Vipās* in the *gaṇa* (*Śarat-prabhṛti*) in the sūtra 5. 4. 107, ‘अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः (यदयं विपाट्शब्दं शरत्प्रभृतिषु पठति). The *Kāśikā* says on this sūtra : शरदित्येवमादिभ्यः (शरत्, विपाश् etc.) प्रातिपदिकेभ्यष्टच् प्रत्ययो भवति अव्ययीभावे । शरदः समीपम् उपशरदम् ।विपाश समीपम् उपविपाशम् । प्रतिविपाशम् । and so on,

p. 97, line 14. ‘महारात्रे प्रातरनुवाकायामन्त्रितः’ इति श्रुतेः ।

This is *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* 6. 2. 1.

p. 98, lines 2, 3, 17.

‘वसातिषु स्म चरथो ऽसितौ पेट्वाविव ।
कदेदमश्विना युवमभि देवाँ अगच्छतम् ॥

Sarup remarks in F.n 2, अस्य मूलमद्यापि नोपलब्धम् ।

The same is the case with the following quotation from *Nirukta* as an explanation of *vasatīḥ* : ‘वासात्यो अन्य उच्यते उषस्पुत्र तथा अन्यः’ इति । This

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was in 1934 A.D. ; even after a lapse of more than thirty years we have not been able to trace these quotations ; perhaps they are from lost portions of Vedic śākhās.

The *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 238, explains *vasātayaḥ* : इदमेवाद्य वसामः इति ते एव वसातयः ।

For वासात्य, we have to turn to *Tait. Āraṇyaka*, 1. 10. 4 :

“वासात्यौ चित्रौ जगतो निधानौ द्यावाभूमी चरथः संस्रवायौ ।
तावद्विना रासभाश्वा हवं मे शुभस्पती आगतं सूर्यया सह” ॥ इति ॥

p. 101, line 2. देवयाः...यजेर्वा न यातेः ।

This is clearly hinted by Yāska's rendering of *devayāḥ* by *devejyā*. *Ajuṣṭam* determines the gender of *devayāḥ* as neuter of *devayāj*. Compare, in this connection, *avayāḥ* for *avayāj* (*RV* 1. 173. 12) and *āvayāḥ* for *āvayāj* (*RV* 1. 162. 5) 'a priest'. Cf. *A Vedic Grammar for Students* by Macdonell (p. 27, § 28 a-α) : “There are instances in the *Samhitās* in which a suffixal *s* or *t* is retained instead of the preceding radical consonant. (1) *s* thus appears in the following four nominatives sing. : *sadha-mās* beside *sadha-māt*... 'companion of the feast' ; *ava-yās*... 'sacrificial share' ; *āvayās*... 'a kind of priest' ; *puro-dās* 'sacrificial cake'.” This phenomenon was noticed by Pāṇini (3. 2. 72, अवे यजः) (काशिका— अवे उपपदे यजेः धातोः शिवन्प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे (3. 2. 71) ...and (8. 2. 67, अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाश्च) (काशिका— एते निपात्यन्ते । अवपूर्वस्य यजेः...मन्त्रे...शिवन् । ...).

p. 104, lines 1, 4. यदादीध्ये न दविषाण्येभिः... । (व्या०)— न दविषाणि न पुनर्दविष्यामि... ।

Cf. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rgveda*, col. 600 : “div...3) *wurfeln* ...Aor. *deviṣa* : —āṇi (1.s. Iv.) ...[Handschr. *daviṣāṇi*].” Macdonell is uncertain. Cf. p. 390 of his *Vedic Grammar* : “*du, dū* 'burn' V. P. ΛO iṣ : SB *dāviṣāṇi* (or from *du go* ?).”

p. 104. line 11. सूर्या । एषैवोषा सूर्या सम्पद्यते ।

Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 4. 1. 48, पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् । (vol. II, p. 220, lines 10-11) : “सूर्यात् देवतायां चाप् वक्तव्यः । सूर्यस्य स्त्री सूर्या । देवतायामिति किमर्थम् । सूरी ।”

p. 106, lines 11-12. रेवति रयिशब्दात् धनवचनात् 'रयेर्मतौ बहुलम्' इति प्रसारणे मतोर्वच्चे चैतद्रूपम् । संबुद्धौ हे धनवति ।

'रयेर्मतौ बहुलम्' is *Vā.* 6 on Pāṇini 6. 1. 37, न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् (and not on Pāṇini 6. 1. 34 as Fn. 7 says) on which the *Bhāṣya* says :

रयेर्मतौ संप्रसारणं बहुलं वक्तव्यम् । आ रेवानेतु नो विशः । न च भवति । रयिमान् पुष्टिवर्धनः । (vol. III, p. 33, lines 12-14).

p. 109, line 2. सा च तदाश्वं रूपं कृतवती उत्तरेषु कुरुषु ।

Cf. in this connection the *gāthā* of *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 4. 17. 9-10 :

“यतो यत आवर्तते तत्तद् गच्छति मानवः ।

ब्रह्मैवैक ऋत्विक् कुरुन् (विश्वान्) अश्वाऽभिरक्षति ॥”

p. 113, lines 3, 8. आध्रः आढ्यालुः आढ्यत्वकामो दरिद्रः । चित् चार्थे दरिद्रश्च । ...आढ्यालुर्दरिद्र इति वाक्यार्थे पदवचनं आध्रः ।

(आ from आढ्यालुः and द्र, *i. e.* ध्र, from दरिद्रः, आद्यन्तयोर्ग्रहणे सति !) आढ्यालुरिति 'आढ्याश्च आलुचः उपसंख्यानम्' अस्मादेव शिष्टप्रयोगात् (the reading शिष्ट० to be preferred to विशिष्ट०).

In his Fn. 11 Sarup says : 'अनुपलब्धमूलमिदं वचनम् ।' But this *vārttika* or *upasaṃkhyāna* is inferred from Yāska's (*i. e.* शिष्ट०) प्रयोग in this case, by the comm. and, therefore, is not a quotation which can be traced to any source ; the word *ādhyālu* is *hapax legomenon*.

p. 115, lines 7-10. आ प्राः...सूर्यः... ।

Comm.— आ प्राः प्रा पूरणे इत्यस्य अन्तर्णीतपर्यस्य पुरुषव्यत्यये आपूरयति । This is wrong ; there is no पुरुषव्यत्यय, *i. e.* irregular change from 't' to 's'. Modern grammarians have correctly explained this form, among others, thus :

“§ 144. 5. [Irregularities of the *s*-form of Aorist]. The following are the forms occurring in the 3. s. ind. act. in which (a) the ending *t* is lost : *á-jai-s* (✓ *ji*) ; *á-prā-s* ; *a-hā-s*.” (Macdonell, *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 164).

Thus : (a) *RV* 8. 40. 11, अजैः स्वर्वतीरपः ।

(b) अप्राः occurs eleven times in the *Rgveda* ; but all except one (*RV* 1. 52. 13) are 3rd pers. sing. forms.

(c) *RV* 1. 116. 3, रयिं न कश्चिन्ममृवाँ अवाहाः ।

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CORRECTIONS TO ŚĀRUP'S NIRUKTA

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p. 116, lines 2, 4. शुक्रं ते अन्यत् । (व्या०)— शुक्रशब्दोऽत्र शुक्लपर्यायः ।

The comm. could have usefully added the following from the *Mahabhāṣya* on कृपो रो लः (Pāṇini 8 2. 18) : “संज्ञाछन्दसोर्वा कपिलकादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् । ... रोमाणि, लोमानि । पांसुरम्, पांसुलम् । ... शुक्रः, शुक्लः ।” (vol. III, p. 398, lines 16, 21-23).

p. 117, lines 6-8. वचस्या । Comm. (i) तृतीयैकवचनस्य अजादेशः, (ii) स्वार्थिको वा यकारः ; वच एव वचस्या । ततः तृतीयाया अलुक् । तथा वचस्यया । स्तुतिलक्षणेन वचसा इत्यर्थः ।

The first explanation is palpably incorrect ; the second is mostly wrong, except ततः तृतीयाया अलुक् ... । The formation is given correctly thus by Grassmann. Cf. his *Wörterbuch zum Rgveda*, cols. 1195-96 : वचस्य von वचस्, sich hören lassen, rauschen. Stamm वचस्य । वचस्यते पतिः धियः (सोमः) (RV 9. 99. 6). स (इन्द्रः) इद्वने नमस्युर्भिर्वचस्यते (RV 1. 55. 4). वचस्या f. (von वचस्य).

Both forms of instrumental case (i) वचस्यया and (ii) वचस्या are found ; also, adj., वचस्यु ।

p. 118, line 16. पांसुरे पांसवो यस्मिन् सन्ति पांसुरः । रो मत्वर्थीयः ।

Cf. Pā. 5. 2. 107, ऊषसुषिमुष्कमधो रः । वा० रप्रकरणे खमुखकुञ्जेभ्य उपसंख्यानम् । The *Bhāṣya* adds merely : नगाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् (vol. II, p. 397, lines 4-10). But the *Kāśikā* expands this last *vārttika* thus : नगपांसुपाण्डुभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् । नगरम् । पांसुरम् । पाण्डुरम् ।

p. 118, lines 6, 13-14. इदं विष्णुर्वि चक्रमे त्रेधा न दधे पदम् । (व्या०)— अथवा बलिबन्धनकाले विष्णोर्भगवतो नारायणस्य यद्विक्रमणं तदत्रोच्यते इति ऐतिहासिकाः ।

This story of king Bali in *Vāmanāvatāra* is referred to by Patañjali in his *Bhāṣya* on Pāṇini 3. 1. 26, हेतुमति च, Vā. 6 thus : (कंसवधमाचष्टे कंसं घातयति) बलिबन्धमाचष्टे बलिं बन्धयति (vol. II, p. 34, lines 17-18) and further in the passage :

“भवेदिह वर्तमानकालता युक्ता स्यात् उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयते सूर्यमुद्गमयतीति तत्रस्थस्य हि तस्य आदित्य उदेति । इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता (कंसं घातयति) बलिं बन्धयतीति (चिरहते कंसे) चिरवद्धे च बलौ । अत्रापि युक्ता । कथम् । ये तावदेते शोमनिका नाम एते (प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति) प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति ।” (vol. II, p. 36, lines 12-16).

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p. 119, lines 3-4. [समूहम्] ..अथवा मुहेरेतद्रूपं, न वहेः । समूहं विवेकेन अग्राह्यं, न दृश्यते इत्यर्थः ।

This alternate explanation is obviously wrong ; the comm. does not seem to have looked into the *Padapāṭha* of the word *samūha*, which is thus split up सम ऊहम् and not as स मूहम् ।

p. 120, line 10. एवैः अवतेः...गतिकर्मणः ।

This is unwarranted ; instead, it ought to be : एतेः गतिकर्मणः । वकारो नामकरणः, and so on.

p. 120, lines 12-14. एवैश्च इति चकाराद् ऊत्या चेति वाक्यशेषाध्याहारः । अध्याहृतेन ऊतिशब्देन तर्पणमत्रोच्यते । श्रूयमाणेन ऊतिशब्देन अस्य प्रयोजनस्य च हेतुत्वेन विवक्षा । तेन काम्याद्यन्यतमार्थं तर्पणार्थं चेत्यर्थः ।

This laboured explanation is wholly unnecessary ; the commentator's difficulty can well be understood. He does not want च to come between the two instr., एवैः and ऊती (=ऊत्या) ; it ought to be either एवैः ऊती च or एवैश्च उती च ; but he could have had recourse to the doctrine दृष्टानुविधिश्च ह्युन्दसि भवति । (See, here, *Bhāṣya* on *Vā.* on *Pāṇini* 1. 1. 6 ; vol. I, p. 55, line 25).

p. 122, lines 7-8. भुरण्यन्तं भुरण इति कण्ड्वादिरयम्... ।

See *Kaśika* on *Pāṇini* 3. 1. 27, कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक्, for the *gaṇa* : कण्ड्वाङ् ।...चरण । चुरण । भुरण । तुरण ।.... See also the *Bhāṣya* on the same : “उभयं कण्ड्वादीनि धातवश्चैव प्रातिपदिकानि च । आतश्चोभयं कण्ड्वाङ्गीति क्रियां कुर्वाणे प्रयुज्यते, अस्ति मे कण्ड्वरिति वेदनामात्रस्य सान्निध्ये । अपर आह—

धातुप्रकरणाद् धातुः कस्य चासञ्जनादपि ।

आह चायमिमं दीर्घं मन्ये धातुर्विभाषितः ॥” (vol. II, p. 38, lines 6-11)

p. 123, lines 15-16. [प्रत्यङ्] प्रतीच्यां दिशि सूर्योदयस्यासंभवात् तेन प्रत्यङ्मुदेषि प्राच्यां दिशि प्रत्यङ्मुखः स्थित्वा त्वमुदेषि इत्यर्थः ।

This is unnecessary if we understand *pratyāṅ* as opposed to *parāk* and not as opposed to *prāk*. In this connection, see *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, 4. 1 :

पराञ्चि खानि व्यतृणत् स्वयम्भूस्तस्मात् पराङ् पश्यति नान्तरात्मन् ।

कश्चिद् धीरः प्रत्यगात्मानमैक्षदावृत्तचक्षुरमृतत्वमिच्छन् ॥

p. 127, line 19 to p. 128, line 1. पुराणान् अथवा पुराणान् जीर्णान् कृतकृत्यान् प्राप्तप्रापणीयान् दृष्टानुश्रविकविषयवितृष्णात्मन इत्यर्थः ।

Here, perhaps, the comm. had before him the *Vyāsabhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* 1. 15-16 :

सू० दृष्टानुश्रविकविषयवितृष्णस्य वशीकारसंज्ञा वैराग्यम् ॥१. १५॥

भा० स्त्रियोऽन्नं पानमैश्वर्यमिति दृष्टविषये विरक्तस्य, स्वर्गवैदेह्यप्रकृतिलयत्वप्राप्तौ आनुश्रविकविषये वितृष्णस्य दिव्यादिव्यविषयसंप्रयोगेऽपि चित्तस्य विषयदोषदर्शिनः प्रसंख्यान-बलात् अनाभोगात्मिका हेयोपादेयशून्या वशीकारसंज्ञा वैराग्यम् ।

सू० तत्परं पुरुषस्यातेर्गुणवैतृष्यम् ॥१. १६॥

भा० दृष्टानुश्रविकविषयदोषदर्शी विरक्तः, पुरुषदर्शनाभ्यासात् तच्छुद्धिप्रविवेकाप्यायितबुद्धिः गुणेश्च व्यक्ताव्यक्तधर्मकेश्च विरक्तः इति तद्द्वयं वैराग्यम् । तत्र यदुत्तरं तज्ज्ञानप्रसादमात्रम् । यस्योदये प्रत्युदितस्यातिरेवं मन्यते—प्राप्तं प्रापणीयं, क्षीणाः क्षेतव्याः क्लेशाः, छिन्नः श्लिष्टपर्वा भवसंक्रमः, यस्याविच्छेदात् जनिता मिथते, मृत्वा च जायते इति । ज्ञानस्यैव परा काष्ठा वैराग्यम् । एतस्यैव हि नान्तरीयकं कैवल्यमिति ।

p. 128, lines 2, 8-9. अज एकपात्...“एकं पादं नोत्खिदति...” इत्यपि निगमो भवति । (निरुक्त 12. 29).

Both Skanda-Maheśvara and Durga cite this as the first *pāda* of the verse :

“एकं पादं नोत्खिदति सलिलाद् हंस उच्चरन् ।

स चेदुदखिदत् पादं न मृत्युर्नामृतं भवेत् ॥”

(Durga reads *pāda c* as : स चेत्तमुदरेदङ्ग).

While Sarup says अनुपलब्धमूलमिदम्, we find it with some variations and something more in *Atharvaveda* 11. 4. 21 :

“एकं पादं नोत्खिदति सलिलाद् हंस उच्चरन् ।

यदङ्ग स तमुत्खिदेत् नैवाद्य न श्वः स्यात् ।

न रात्री नाहः स्यात् न व्युच्छेत् कदाचन ॥”

न मृत्युर्नामृतं भवेत् of the comm. seems to be modelled on RV 10. 129. 2 : न मृत्युरासीदमृतं न तर्हि of the famous *nāsadaśīya* (and not *nāsadiya*) *sūkta*.

p. 129, line 17. आपः आपश्च समुद्रियः समुद्रे भवः वरुणः ।

The comm. is wrong ; *samudriyaḥ* stands for *samudryaḥ*, (nom. pl. f.) going with *apah*.

p. 135, lines 10-11. अस्वप्नजौ अविद्यमानः स्वप्नः जन्म च ग्रयोः तौ स्वप्नजन्मवर्जितौ ।

This explanation of the comm. is wrong as that of *trṣṇaja* dealt with before ; see Pāṇini 3. 2. 172, त्वपितृषोर्नजिङ्, and *Kāśikā* thereon : स्वप्नेः तृषेः च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु नजिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । स्वप्नक् । तृष्णक् ।

p 138, line 18. तृतीयसवन एष व्यहः ।

This *Śruti* is still untraced.

p. 139, lines 19-20. यथा एकेनापि सर्वे छत्रिणो भवन्ति ।

This is called *Chatrinyāya*. We can trace this *nyāya* in literature during a period extending over roughly five hundred years, A. D. 300 to 800, from Śābarasvāmin to Śāṅkarācārya :

(i) Śābara on *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* 1. 4. 23 (Edn. *Anandasrama Skt. Ser.*, No. 97, p. 365) : यथा छत्रिणो गच्छन्ति इति एकेन छत्रिणा सर्वे लक्ष्यन्ते । (A.D. 300)

(ii) Bhartṛhari in his *Vākya-pāṇini* 3. 12. 22 :

छत्रिणा चाभिसम्बन्धात् छत्रिशब्दामिधेयता ॥

(A.D. 400-500)

(हेलाराजः -- तथा छत्रिणो यान्तीति बहुवचनान्यथानुपपत्त्या पराकृतछत्रसम्बन्धा अपि छत्रिसाहचर्यात् तच्छब्देनाभिधीयन्ते ।)

(iii) Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his *Tantravārttika* on *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* 1. 4. 17 (Edn. *Anandasrama Skt. Series*, No. 97, p. 347) :

एकदेशस्थैरपि विश्वैर्देवैरुपलक्षितानां छत्रिन्यायेन तत्प्रख्यतयैव सर्वेषां नामधेयत्वम् ।

Kumārila in his *Tuṭṭikā* on *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* 4. 4. 1 (*Anandasrama Skt. Ser.*, No. 97, p. 1270) :

राजसूयशब्दो राज्ञः सव इत्येवमङ्गीकृत्य प्रवृत्तः । राजा चास्मिन् प्रकरणे श्रूयते । तस्मात् सूयतिरपि छत्रिन्यायेन सर्वत्र प्रवर्तते ।

Kumārila in his *Tuṭṭikā* on *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* 7. 3. 7 (*Ibid.*, p. 1552) :

षडहे च गायत्रं प्रकृत्य सर्वाणि पृष्ठानि कार्याणि इति विहितम् । तत्र सर्वपृष्ठशब्दौ अर्थवन्तौ । ज्योतिष्टोमे च छत्रिन्यायेन पृष्ठशब्दप्रयोगात् लक्षणा । (A.D. 650-700).

(iv) Śāṅkarācārya in his *Bhāṣya* on *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 'ऋतं पिबन्तौ...' : एकस्तत्र कर्मफलं पिबति भुङ्क्ते नेतरः । तथापि पातृसम्बन्धात् पिबन्तावित्युच्यते छत्रिन्यायेन ।

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The same author in his *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* 1. 2. 11 :

छत्रिणो गच्छन्ति इति एकेनापि छत्रिणा बहूनां छत्रित्वोपचारदर्शनात् । एवमेकेनापि पिबता द्वौ पिबन्तौ उच्येते । यद्वा । जीवस्तावत् पिबति, ईश्वरस्तु पाययति । पाययन्नपि पिबतीत्युच्यते । पाचयितर्यपि पक्तृत्वप्रसिद्धिदर्शनात् । (A.D. 800).

p. 142, line 15. सुपथा सुपथानि । व्यत्ययेन नपुंसकम् । शोभनाः पन्थानः ।

It is unnecessary to resort to *vyatyaya* or the irregularity doctrine : because *supatha* is used in the neuter in the *Rgveda*. Cf. also Pāṇini 2. 4. 30, अपथं नपुंसकम् ।

p. 146, line 6. ओ रौदसी वरुणानीं शृणोतु (*RV* 5. 46. 8).

Yāska explains thus : रौदसी रुद्रस्य पत्नी । वरुणानीं च वरुणस्य पत्नी । The comm. takes Yāska to task thus : रौदसी इति रुद्रस्य पत्नीवचनो व्याख्यातः । तत् किल नोपपद्यते । यतोऽन्तोदात्तो रौदसीशब्दो रुद्रपत्नीवचनो दृष्टः । 'विधितस्तुका रौदसी' (ऋ 1. 167. 5), 'मिम्यन्तु येषु रौदसी' (ऋ 6. 50. 5) इत्यादौ अन्तोदात्तस्य दर्शनात् । आद्युदात्तस्तु 'अंतप्यमाने अंवसावन्ती अनु ध्याम रौदसी देवपुत्रे' (ऋ 1. 185. 4) इत्यादौ सर्वत्र द्यावापृथिवीवचनः । अस्याद्युदात्तत्वात् द्यावापृथिवीवचन एव, न रुद्रपत्नीवचनः । तथा च पदकारेण द्विवचनत्वं प्रदर्शितमिति । ...भाष्यकारस्तु देवपत्नीप्रकरणानुविधानेन पदकारमनवेक्ष्य रौदसीशब्दं रुद्रपत्नीवचनमुदाजहारेति ।

Pāṇini is silent on this controversy. Sāyaṇa comments on Yāska's explanation thus :

रौदसी । 'रुद्रस्य पत्नी' (निरुक्त 12. 46) इति यास्केनोक्तम् । एवं सति 'विधितस्तुका रौदसी' इत्यत्र (ऋ 1. 167. 5) यथा आद्युदात्तप्रगृह्ये न स्तः तद्वदत्रापि भाव्यम् । तथापि शाकल्येन महर्षिणा (=पदकारेण) एवमुक्तत्वात् तथैव द्रष्टव्यम् ।

Durga has this to say :

रौदसी रुद्रस्य पत्नी । आथर्वणे रौदसीति अप्रगृह्यं पदम् । तदपेक्ष्य एकवचनेन भाष्यकारो निराह—रौदसी रुद्रस्य पत्नी इति ।

Besides the *Rgveda*, this *rk* occurs in the *Atharvaveda* (7. 49. 2), *Mait. Saṁhitā* (4. 13. 10) and *Tait. Brāhmaṇa* (3. 5. 12. 1). Whitney in his *Notes on the Atharvaveda* writes : "The other texts offer no variants save that the *RV* text unaccountably reads in *c ro'dasī iti* as if the word were the common dual, instead of a proper name." (*AV Saṁhitā*, Trans., vol. I, p. 419).

To sum up, रोदसी and रौदसी are both used in the *Rgveda* in the sense of *Rudrānī*, wife of *Rudra*. See the following :

रोदसी—

RV 1. 167. 4 साधारण्यैव मरुतो मिमित्तुः

न रोदसी अप नुदन्त घोराः । (मरुतः)

(Here रोदसी stands for acc. रोदसीम्; The *Padapāṭha* says wrongly : रोदसी इति ।)

1. 167. 5 ...विषितस्तुका रोदसी नृमणाः ।

5. 56. 8 आ यस्मिन् तस्यौ सुरणानि विभ्रती संचा मरुसु रोदसी ।

6. 50. 5 मिम्यत्त येषु रोदसी नुं देवी ।

6. 66. 6 त इदुग्राः शवसा धृष्णुषेणा उभे युजन्त रौदसी सुमेके ।

अध स्मैषु रोदसी स्वशोचिर् आमवत्सु तस्यौ न रोकः ॥

(In this *rk* we meet with *rodasī* of diverse accents and numbers).

10. 92. 11 प्र रोदसी मरुतो विष्णुरहि रे ।

(The *Padapāṭha* wrongly says : रोदसी इति ।)

रौदसी—

RV 5. 46. 8 उत ग्रा व्यन्तु देवपत्नीरिन्द्राण्यग्राय्यश्विनी राट् ।

आ रौदसी वरुणानीं शृणोतु व्यन्तु देवीयै ऋतुर्जनीनाम् ॥

7. 34. 22 तां नो रासन् रातिषाचो वसूनि

आ रौदसी वरुणानीं शृणोतु ।

7. 40. 2 मित्रस्तन्नो वरुणो रौदसी च

शुभकर्मिन्द्रो अर्यमा ददातु ।

p. 149, line 14. पुल्वघः (यास्क— बह्वादी).

The comm. accordingly explains : घसेः रूपमिदम् । बहूनां भौमरसानामत्ता ।

But this is obviously incorrect; it ought to be बहुपापी. Cf. RV 1. 179. 5, पुलुकामो हि मर्त्यः, where we have the sister-form *pulu* of *puru*, 'many'; *pulukāmaḥ* means 'one having many desires'. Cf. paraphrase of this word in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 4. 10. 3 : बहव इमेऽस्मिन् पुरुषे कामा नानात्ययाः... । Consequently *pulvaghāḥ* means 'one having many sins'.

p. 150, lines 14-17. पुष्टेषु... ।

Poṣeṣu is a mere translation by Yāska; but the comm. waxes eloquent thus : पुष्टेषु पुष्टिः प्रकर्षेण वृद्धिः । सप्तमी चेयं तद्रश्मिषु । तदेतत् भाष्यकार आह— 'रश्मिषोषं पुष्टेषु भूतेषु' इति । (This is not found in the extant *Nirukta*). सामान्यपुष्टेरत्र अवयवपुष्टिः कर्मत्वेन निर्दिश्यते । गोपोषं पुष्टयति इति यथा ।

This is a reference to Pāṇini 3. 4. 40, स्वे पुषः, and especially to Vā. 13, तस्य च तपः कर्मकस्यैव on Pāṇini 3. 1. 87, कर्मवत् कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः and to the *Bhāṣya* thereon (vol. II, p. 69, lines 6-8) : ...कथं पुनः स एव नाम प्रत्ययार्थः स्यात् स एव प्रकृत्यर्थः । सामान्यतपेरवयवतपिः कर्म भवति । तद्यथा— स एतान् पोषानपुष्टयत्, गोपोषमश्वपोषं रैपोषमिति (See here *Tait. Sam.* 7. 1. 9 and *Atharvaveda* 13. 1. 12) । सामान्यपुष्टेः अवयवपुष्टिः कर्म भवति ।

p. 150, line 17 to 151, line 7. मंसखा अहं सखा यस्य सः । अथवा...मद् हर्षः सखिभूतः यस्य सः हर्षसहायः अत्यन्तपुष्ट इत्यर्थः । ...मंसखा मम सखा नेदं विगृह्य प्रदर्शनम् । किं तर्हि । अर्थप्रदर्शनम् । यो हि मम सखा अहमपि तस्य सखा इत्यभिप्रायः । तत्पुरुषत्वेऽपि छान्दसत्वात् समासान्ताभावः ।

Grassmann takes मंसखा as a compound, with मत् in the sense of ablative. Cf. संकृत. On the whole it seems correct to take मंसखा as a *Bahuvrīhi* compound.

p. 156, lines 2, 6-7. वाचोऽन्न इति वा ।

(व्या०)— वर्णरूपे पदरूपः शब्दो निवसति । स्वरूपे व्यञ्जनरूपा वाक् निवसति । स हि स्वरोऽनुप्रविश्य अन्नवत् व्यञ्जनचक्रं धारयति ।

Cf. the relation of *svara* and *vyañjana* according to Patañjali on Pāṇini 1. 2. 29, उच्चैरुदात्तः, and 30, नीचैरनुदात्तः (vol. I, p. 206, lines 23-25) :

अन्तरेणापि व्यञ्जनमच एवैते गुणा लक्ष्यन्ते, न पुनरन्तरेणाचं व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारणमपि भवति ।
अन्वर्थं खल्वपि निर्वचनम् । स्वयं राजन्ते स्वरा अन्वग्भवति व्यञ्जनमिति ।

p. 157, lines 13-14. तेभ्य एतं तर्कमृषिं प्रायच्छन् । ...तस्माद्यदेव किं
चानूचानोऽभ्यूहति आर्षं तद् भवति ।

This is, indeed, a parting gift of Yāska to the world, where Reason
(*tarka*) is raised to the lofty pedestal of Intuition (*ṛṣir darśanāt*).

A NOTE ON AN OBSCURE REFERENCE IN THE RĀJATARANĠINĪ*

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While describing in his *Rājataranṅinī* (RT) the last days of King Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa of Kashmir, Kalhaṇa, the chronicler of Kashmir, is not sure about the facts that brought about the end of the king. He, therefore, records all the rumours that were afloat in his days, about the event. From his accounts we come to know that there were five different versions of the story.

सैकादश दिनान् सप्त मासान् षट्त्रिंशत् समाः ।
 एवमाह्वाय स महीं प्रजाचन्द्रोऽस्तमाययौ ॥
 तुषारवर्षैर्वहुलैस्तमकाण्डनिपातिभिः ।
 आर्याणकामिधे देशे विपन्नं केचिदूचिरे ॥
 राजप्रष्ठः प्रतिष्ठां स रक्षितुं चिरसञ्चिताम् ।
 सङ्कटे क्वापि दहनं प्राविशदिति केचन ॥
 केषाञ्चित्सु मते भूभृद्वीयस्युत्तरापथे ।
 सोऽमर्त्यसुलभां भूमिं प्रविष्टः कटकान्वितः ॥
 अत्यद्भुतानि कृत्यानि श्रुतान्यस्य यथा किल ।
 विपत्तिरपि भूभर्तुस्तथैवात्यद्भुता श्रुता ॥
 यातोऽस्तं द्युमणिः पयोधिसलिलं कैश्चित् प्रविष्टोऽपरैः ।
 सम्प्राप्तो दहनं गतः किल परैर्लोकान्तरं कीर्त्यते ॥

(RT IV. 366-71)

1. According to the first version, the king perished untimely in the land of Āryāṇaka due to heavy fall of snow.
2. The second version states that the king entered fire in order to save his honour, which he valued much, when he saw no way out from a very critical situation.
3. The third account advances the legend that in the remote regions of the North the king with his army entered into the territory inaccessible to mortals.

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4. The fourth one makes the king enter into the sea.
5. The fifth one refers to the story of his death in the burning pyre. This last, however, seems to be a repetition of the second version shorn of the reason given therein.

From the manner in which Kalhaṇa lists these rumours it seems that the chronicler is not agreeable to accept any one of them and hence merely records them all without comment.

It is, however, interesting to note that in the *Rājataranginī* we come across another reference to the same topic in a different context. King Harṣa of Kashmir (A.D. 1089-1101) cites the case of Mukṭāpīḍa to his counsellors in a critical situation :

मुक्तापीडः पुरा राजा ज्वलित्वा मूर्ध्नि भूभुजाम् ।
 कार्पण्यप्रणयं प्राप लब्धरन्ध्रो विरोधिभिः ॥
 स ह्युत्तरापथे नानापथस्थगितसैनिकैः ।
 मितानुगोऽहितै रुद्धमार्गोऽभूद् दुर्गमेऽध्वनि ॥
 तं शल्यो नाम सामग्र्यवैरल्यविवशं नृपः ।
 बन्धुं प्रतिज्ञामकरोद् वाजिलक्षैर्युतोऽष्टभिः ॥
 स सामप्रमुखोपायापायध्यानावसन्नधीः ।
 भवस्वाम्यभिधं कृत्यम् अपृच्छन् मुख्यमन्त्रिणम् ॥
 असाध्यं सोऽपि निधर्याय विनिपातप्रतिक्रियम् ।
 न्याये निश्चित्य नैयत्यं कर्तव्ये प्रत्युवाच तम् ।
 × × × × × ×
 राजाप्यनलसाहेहं ततश्चक्रेऽभिमानिना ॥

(RT VII. 1428-49)

This account would indicate that the enemies of Mukṭāpīḍa discovering a loop-hole cornered him during his campaigns in the North when his army was engaged in some very difficult mountain passes and had only a handful of his followers with him. The stores he had with him too were almost exhausted. The enemy king Śalya had under his command a cavalry 800,000 strong. He took a vow to take Mukṭāpīḍa prisoner and pounced upon him with his gigantic force. Like a true kṣatriya Mukṭāpīḍa fought heroically but when things turned to be hopelessly critical he followed the advice of his principal minister Bhavasvāmin and feigned an attack of the incurable disease Daṇḍakālasaka and later, in order to save his honour, consigned his body to the fire.

Now, these two accounts stand in sharp contrast to one another. The first one is only a collection of rumours while the second one is a positive statement put in the mouth of King Harṣa at a very critical

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situation in which his very existence was at stake. Obviously, therefore, the second statement is definite as against the first one which is but an enumeration of rumours. But still we must not miss the point that it resembles closely the second of the rumours.

We may, therefore, ask quite reasonably: Why is it that Kalhaṇa did not give this story in the Fourth Book of his Chronicle instead of a bundle of popular accounts concerning the death of Mukṭāpīḍa? Is it for the reason that he could not pin his faith on or other one of these rumours? How, then can he fix the regnal period of Mukṭāpīḍa in terms of years, months and days, viz., 36 years, 7 months and 11 days, as he has done in RT IV. 366?

Needless to say, a straight answer to this question might not be forthcoming. But, if we study the Chronicle carefully, we may hit at a plausible solution. From the mode of treatment adopted in his work by Kalhaṇa it appears that he endeavours to be free from bias and in his statements takes an objective view of things as far as practicable. In the present case Kalhaṇa seems to make a distinction between the aforesaid two sets of information. In the Fourth Book he wants to convey that the fact of Mukṭāpīḍa's mysterious disappearance in the distant northern regions gave rise to all sorts of rumours, that nobody knew what exactly happened to him. With the sense of a true historian Kalhaṇa did not hazard any opinion at this stage but allowed the facts to devolve and, finally, unfold the mystery. Thus, through the account given later in the words of King Harṣa, a descendent of Mukṭāpīḍa, Kalhaṇa wants to convince us of the veracity of that version. It is quite natural that Harṣa, a well-educated prince of the royal house, had intimate acquaintance with the State records which would be inaccessible to outsiders. It is also quite likely that the prince was in the know of facts that were known only to the inner circle of the royal house. It is also not very unlikely that the royal archives of Harṣa were in possession of some confidential reports from some of the survivors of the fatal campaign of Mukṭāpīḍa, which he had the occasion to peruse. From the note of firm conviction in his statement it becomes perfectly clear that he is convinced of the truth of the story. It should also be borne in mind that the Chronicler happened to be nearer to Harṣa in point of time and so would have the opportunity of having a more intimate knowledge of the facts connected with that prince.¹ It is surely because of this that he gives us a record of this

1. Cf. "By the inspection of ordiances of former kings relating to religious foundations and grants, laudatory inscriptions as well as written records, all wearisome error has been set at rest." RT I. 15. Translation by R. S. Pandit.

account through the statement of Harṣa instead of narrating it himself. Obviously, Kalhaṇa tries to adhere to his motto of *bhūtārtha-varṇana* and hence it can safely be assumed that he did not state the period of Mukṭāpīḍa's reign arbitrarily. It appears, on the other hand, that he weighed properly all the materials available to him and made the statements on the basis only of those facts on which he could rely upon. This may be confirmed by the fact that Kalhaṇa records the exact dates of the regnal periods of the kings and the principal events in the Laukika era commencing from king Ajitāpīḍa,² while for the events prior to that he gives only the gross total of the period and not the exact duration of the reigns expressed in terms of years, months and days, obviously because he was not sure of them.

Now, the historical records available to us are silent about the death of king Mukṭāpīḍa, and so we have practically nothing either in support or in refutation of what Kalhaṇa has said. In so far as the rumour about the land of Āryāṇaka is concerned, we may note that Stein is sceptical about it³ and we too see no reason to differ from him. The account about the regions of the immortals is simply mythical, notwithstanding the fact that the people belonging to the age of Kalhaṇa saw nothing extraordinary in it. The same objection applies to the story of the king entering the waters of the ocean. But, shall we reject, in the same way, the story of king Śālya and his cavalry? Let us see if history can help us by throwing some light on this vague reference.

In the history of Tibet there is reference to a *lJan-tsa-lha-bdon*⁴ who was the son of *Mes-ag-ts'oms* (A.D. 704-55) and the elder brother of *K'ri-sron-lde-btsan* (A. D. 755-97).⁵ The real name of this prince is

2. RT 703.IV. Cf. Note by R. S. Pandit: "Commencing from this verse K records the exact dates of the regnal periods of kings and principal events in Laukika era. Following the general custom in India he omits to mention the centuries of the Laukika or Saptarṣi era which is still the traditional era in Kashmir and the neighbouring hills.... The days are mentioned as the Tithi."

3. See Stein's Notes on Āryāṇaka on RT IV. 367 in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Translation (Reprint, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1961) vol. I, p. 155.

4. 'Contributions on the Religion, History etc. of Tibet,' S. C. Das, *J Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 50 (1881) 234.

5. L. Petech, *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh*, 1939, p. 165.

See also G. Tucci, 'The validity of Tibetan historical tradition', *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, p. 310, fn. 8. "K'ri is a title of emperors, princes and even of queens. Sron means righteous. btsan means a class of gods, chiefly tribal gods in Bon religion. lde or ldeu is connected probably with *ldañs-pa* meaning to rise, to be elevated. This word has a religious significance."

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tsa-lha, *lJan* being a prefix indicating the name of his mother and *bdon* (also read as *pon*) being only a laudatory nickname. Similarity in the name and coincidence of chronology present the possibility that this *tsa-lha* of the Tibetans is found in the Chronicles of Kalhaṇa in its Sanskritized form *Śalya*.⁶ It is quite likely that Mukṭāpīḍa was engaged in fighting in his last days with the Tibetans somewhere in their own territory and had to enter fire in order to save his honour under the compulsion of events mentioned above. Such political suicides are not uncommon in the history of Kashmir; we see that Utkarṣa and some other monarchs of that country acted in the same manner under similar circumstances.⁷ Mihirakula also consigned himself to the fire, though under circumstances altogether different.⁸ It is also to be noted that the Tibetans are referred to by Kalhaṇa as Bhauṭṭas⁹ and that the Bhauṭṭas were the enemies of Mukṭāpīḍa.

From the Tibetan Chronicles we can gather that in A.D. 704 the Tibetan king *Du-sroṅmaṅ-po-rje*, whom the Chinese refer to by the name *K'i-nu-si-lung*, breathed his last. The Chinese sources inform us that he took over from the regent *K'in-ling* and subsequently died during a campaign against Nepal and the people of the Indian frontiers who rebelled

On *Jan-tsa'a-Lha-bdan* Tucci writes that he was named according to the custom of naming the son after the clan of his mother or, better, after the name of his mother's father. (*ib.* p. 320).

There is, however, no agreement between the Tibetan accounts and the Chinese and other accounts of these kings. Here, Tucci remarks that "we are not yet in a position to state which tradition corresponds to truth". Kalhaṇa's account seems to corroborate the Tibetan version. (*Ibid.* p. 322).

6. For similar Sanskritizations, *cp.* Caṅkuṇa (<*Tsiang-Kiun*, meaning 'commander of the army'), the name of the Tokharian minister of Lalitāditya (RT IV. 211).

7. RT VII. 852.

8. RT I. 309.

9. *Vide* the references to the Bhauṭṭas or Bhoṭṭas in Dayaram Sahni and A. H. Francke, 'Rāja-taraṅgiṇī of Kashmir', *Indian Antiquary*, 37 (1908), pp. 181-92.

See also Stein's notes on the Bhauṭṭas.

We are, however, inclined to add that the exact implication of the term Bhauṭṭas used by Kalhaṇa still requires careful consideration.

From the *Tang Annals*, we come to know that Mukṭāpīḍa had a number of victorious campaigns against the Tibetans. *Vide* Sunil Chandra Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 40.

But it seems to be extremely queer that the Tibetan *Annals* available to us remain mysteriously silent about the conflict.

Kalhaṇa speaks of Lalitāditya's victory over the Bhauṭṭas in RT IV. 168. but about this last campaign he chooses to be vague.

against him.¹⁰ The Tibetan chronicles, however, choose to remain silent about the regency and speak almost nothing about the military campaigns of the king recorded in the Chinese accounts. His son *K'i-lde-gtsug-btsan* succeeded him and ascended the throne in A.D. 704. The Chinese version of his name is *K'i-li-so-tsan*, but he was more commonly known as *Mes-ag-ts'oms* in Tibetan history. The regnal period of this monarch is held to be A.D. 704-55.¹¹ It is during this period that the Tibetan power reached its zenith.¹² From the accounts of *Ma Tuan-lin*¹³ (A.D. 1325) it may reasonably be inferred that the Tibetan inroads during this period had disastrous effects on the rulers of Northern India who, with a view to create a balance of power, had to seek help even from the Chinese against the belligerent Tibetan forces.¹⁴ The great Chinese-Tibetan conflict over the possession of Baltistan is one of the most noteworthy features of his regime.¹⁵ From the Tibetan sources we come to know that this monarch had three wives, namely, *Jañmo-thi-tsun*, *Nam-nañ* and the Chinese princess *Kyimshañ Kuñ-ju*. He had two sons by these queens. Of these two, the elder one named *Jañtsa-lha-pon* was the son of the first named queen and the younger one named *Thi-sroñ-de-tsan* was born of the queen *Kyimshañ-Kuñ-ju*, the Chinese princess.¹⁶ The latter prince succeeded the king after his death. It is also stated that the Chinese-Tibetan conflict continued uninterruptedly. The Chinese, however, made an attempt to arrive at an agreement by offering the proposals of a marriage treaty but there are discrepancies about it between the Tibetan Chronicles and the Chinese Annals. According to some Tibetan chroniclers the Chinese princess had been betrothed to the heir-apparent, *Jañs-ts'ha-bdon*, but as ill luck would have it, the prince fell down from his horse and died while on his way to meet the bride.¹⁷ But other Tibetan chroniclers say that the prince was killed by a Tibetan chief named *Thi-ssan*, the chief of Nag. The Chinese sources, on the other hand, hold that the Chinese princess was married to the king and at the time of this marriage the king was a mere boy.¹⁸ This event took place in A.D. 710.

10. Petech, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

12. *Ibid.* p. 64.

13. L. A. Waddell, *Tibetan Invasion of India*.

14. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

15. *Loc. cit.*

16. S. C. Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-24 ; 233-34.

17. Petech, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

18. *Loc. cit.*

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The history of Baltistan gives the story that the Tibetans invaded Baltistan, but in A.D. 722, 4,000 Chinese soldiers entered the Tibetan stronghold in Baltistan and repulsed the invaders.¹⁹ The Chinese sources tell us that in A.D. 733, Muktāpīḍa announced his success against the Tibetans in the Chinese court.²⁰ According to this source, the Greater Pulu (Baltistan) was conquered by the Tibetans in A.D. 744 and the Lesser Pulu also remained under the Tibetan sway till the year 747.²¹ In A.D. 736 Tibet paid tribute to the Chinese Emperor but in the same year Baltistan was attacked by the Tibetans and in A.D. 738 the Chinese army was totally defeated by the Tibetans in this sector.²²

From what has been stated above it appears that in spite of minor discrepancies in details, it is certain that the prince *ljan-ts'zha-bdon* of Tibet was an heir-apparent and that he was fond of horse-riding. In consideration of the age of his father it may be taken that in A.D. 736 he was a young man of twentyone. This assumption follows from the fact that the Chinese accounts tell us that the father was only a boy of seven in A.D. 704. He was, therefore, a boy of thirteen in 710 when he was married. Now, if he had a son at the age of eighteen, in A.D. 715, his child must have reached the age of twentyone years in A.D. 736. It is also likely that this young prince was a brave warrior but died early and that his younger brother inherited the throne from his father. Kalhana's account through Harṣa confirms the Tibetan version of the story that this prince with his large army, mainly composed of cavalry, trapped Muktāpīḍa in a difficult mountain terrain. The arena of this battle royal was most probably somewhere in the Greater or the Lesser Pulu where a great battle was going on at that time between the Chinese and the Tibetans. The course of events synchronises with the year A.D. 736 which is one of the peak periods of this uninterrupted conflict. It should also be noted in this connection that the Tibetan history of the marriage and the death of the prince cannot be relied upon on the ground of chronological incompatibility.²³ Kalhana's reference to the prince as a king is quite in keeping

19. Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue Occidentaux*, pp. 150-51.

20. *Loc. cit.*, p. 167.

21. S. W. Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet : From Chinese Sources*, JRAS (New Series) XII (1880), 530, Note 36.

22. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 469-71.

23. About the marriage agreement there is a discrepancy between the T'ang-shu and the Tibetan Chronicles. The Chinese Annals say that it was concluded in A.D. 710, while the king (*Mes-ag-ts'oms*) was still very young, a little later than his accession. But the *rGyal-rabs-gsal-bai-me-lou* and also *Bustan* place this marriage in a much later epoch and give a romantic account of it. I do not think that this story is tenable. Cf. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

with the Tibetan tradition according to which the princes of that region often ascended the throne at the age of thirteen when the royal fathers were still alive, quite hale and hearty.²⁴ Kalhana's mention, about the king Śālya cannot, therefore, be rejected outright as a cock and bull story.

It is very interesting to note here that the Tibetan chroniclers do not refer to Mukṭāpīḍa anywhere in their accounts, nor does Kalhana ever speak of the Chinese embassy of Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa though the Tang history claims very cordial relations between the Chinese court and the monarchs of Kashmir beginning from the second quarter of the 7th century A.D.²⁵

Coming to dates, those of Kalhana are supported indirectly by the *Ratnakara Purāṇa*. In the light of this *Purāṇa*, the regnal period of Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa may be fixed as A.D. 699-736, while according to the calculations made by Stein it is between 700 and 736 A.D.²⁶ According to the Chinese sources the date of Lalitāditya's embassy to the Chinese court was 733 A.D.²⁷ The synchronisation of the dates pinpoints the identification of Śālya of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* with the Tibetan prince *Ts'a-lha*. As for the discrepancies between the dates given by Kalhana and those of Tang Annals, as also between of *Tchin-tho-lo-pi-li* identified with Candrāpīḍa²⁸ and the embassy of *Icha-fon-mo* identified with the king Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja,²⁹ it may be said that they still require confirmation.³⁰

24. Cf. *Sroṅ-btsan-agam-po* II, loc. cit., pp. 44 ff.

"Tibetan kings often ascended the throne when 13 years old. This was due to *Bon-po* ideas according to which 13 was a sacred number. There was no co-government of the father and the son. When *Gun-sroṅ* ascended the throne, the father retired but when *Gun-sroṅ* died, his father again took the power." Tucci, *op. cit.*, p. 311, fn. 9.

But Petech thinks that accession to the throne at the age of 13 means probably the solemn proclamation as the Heir-apparent to the throne and nothing more than some nominal association with the throne. This custom survived upto very recent times and in Baltistan it was in force even during the first half of the last century. (*Ibid.*, pp. 44 ff.).

Tucci observes in this connection: "Curious to note that fathers (in the Tibetan Chronicles) died generally before the sons reached 13 years of age." (*loc. cit.*).

25. Remusat, *Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques*, Paris, I (1829) 121, 196-97.

26. Stein, *RT* IV, 26, fn.

27. See ante.

28. Remusat, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

29. Pauthier, *Examen Methodique des faits qui concernent le Thian-chu*, p. 66.

30. N. N. Dasgupta, 'On the date of Lalitāditya,' *Indian Culture*, XIV (1947) 11-19.

R. S. Pandit, *RT* VII. 1430, Notes, feels that Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa perished most probably while fighting a Chinese army in the north of Kashmir.

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The evidence marshalled above tends to prove with a fair degree of certainty that it was not the Chinese army but the Bhauṭṭas against whom Muktāpīḍa led his army in his last days. The story of his embassy to the Chinese court in A. D. 733, just three years prior to the catastrophe, clearly points to the fact that he was then contemplating on a military operation on a very large scale against the Bhauṭṭas which the Chinese could not support for the simple reason of power politics. Subsequent events in the history of that region bear evidence to the fact that the cold-shouldering by the Chinese in this matter could not damp his enthusiasm and that he, without counting on the support of the Chinese, but probably with the help of some allies not yet known to history, made a venture against the Bhauṭṭas.

It will not be out of place to emphasise in the present context that the references to events made by Kalhana always deserve due consideration. The present writer is tempted to cite a very interesting instance in this connection. Kalhana's references to the *Strī-rājya*³¹ have been discredited by several writers as legendary. But the history of the Northern Himalayan regions tells us that the *Strī-rājya* of Kalhana³² was not a legendary kingdom like the 'Land of the Amazons' met with in the Greek accounts. The state of Nu Wang situated in Eastern Tibet came to be known to the Sui historians in A. D. 586 as to have been ruled over by a woman with the title *Soupi*. In that state even the attendants of the royal palace were women, and the menfolk had nothing to do with the

31. RT IV. 173-74, 587, 666. Stein informs us that in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira we have some accounts of *Strī-rājya* "where men were not allowed to dwell for a period longer than half a year." (Stein, *op. cit.*, fn. on page 13). R. S. Pandit informs us that according to the Greek Ambassador in the Mauryan court, the Pāṇdyas had women rulers. (Ref. Megasthenes, *Ancient India*, McCrindle's translation, Fragment LVI). He also tells us that among the ancient Greeks there were many legends according to which the 'land of the Amazons' was situated in the Mediterranean. See also F. W. Thomas, 'The Kingdom of Women', *Actes du XVIII Congress International des Orientalistes*, Leiden, 1931, pp. 150-51.

32. Remusat, *op. cit.*, p. 199. The following observations of McCrindle may be read with interest in this connection: "In the time of Ptolemy the kingdom of Kashmir was the most powerful state in all India. The dominions subject to its sceptre reached as far South as the range of the Vindhya and embraced, together with the extensive mountain region wherein the great rivers of Punjab had their sources, a great part of Punjab itself and the countries which lay along the courses of the Jamuna and the upper Ganges. So much we learn from Ptolemy's description which is quite in harmony with what is to be found recorded in the *Rājatarāṅgī*." J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, London, 1885, p. 109.

state affairs. This state had frequent wars with the Tangsiang and with India. In the T'ang history this country has been described under the name Tang (Eastern) Nu state. In the period of Wute (A. D. 618-26) the queen T'ang'ang of this country sent an envoy to China with tributes. In A.D. 742 the convention of that land was changed and a man was elected instead of a woman as the ruler. Subsequently they came to be known as *Soupi* and their state also came to be known as '*Soupi*' in Chinese history.³³ This fact leads us to believe with confidence that the *Stri-rājya* referred to by Kalhana was not a land of fiction but a land existing in reality.

33. S. W. Bushell, 'The Early History of Tibet : From Chinese Sources', *J. Royal Asiatic Society*, (New Series), XII (1880) 435-541.

THE PRINCIPAL RASA IN ŚAKTIBHADRA'S ĀSCARYACŪDĀMAṆI

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The *Āscaryacūdāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra¹ is the best Sanskrit drama written in Kerala. Its unique stage-worthiness made it very popular and several Acts from it are used down to this day for the semi-ritualistic dramatic performance called *Kūṭiyāṭṭam*². It is even more important in two other ways. First, it is the earliest *nāṭaka* produced in South India as can be seen from its own statement.³ Secondly, it is a drama which makes an abundant use of the *adbhuta-rasa* and is perhaps the earliest in this respect also.

1. Published with the commentary of 'Bhūradvājagrāmavāsini' and an Introduction by Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri in the *Balamanorama Series*, Madras, 1926.

2. For an account of this entertainment see '*Kūṭiyāṭṭam*' by K. Kunjunni Raja, *Sangita Natak Akademi*, New Delhi, 1964.

3. Vide the *Sihūpanā* (pp. 7-8) :

सूत्रधारः— आर्ये, दक्षिणापथादागतमाश्रयचूडामणि नाम नाटकमभिनयाम्नेडितसौभाग्य-
मभिलषाम इत्यार्यमिश्राणां शासनम् ।

नटी— अज्ज, अच्छाहिदं खु एदं, आआसं पसवइ पुप्फं, सिअदाओ तेल्लं उप्पादअंति,
जइ दक्षिणाओ दिसाओ आअदं णाडअणिवन्धणम् ।

According to tradition Śaktibhadra was a contemporary of Śaṅkarācārya and so his date is taken to be about the 9th century A.D. As Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri observes, there are no positive evidences which militate against this date (*vide* his Introduction, p. 8). Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti has attempted to give a later date by placing Śaktibhadra after Kulaśekhara Varman, the author of *Subhadrādhanañjaya* and *Tapatīsamvarana*, but his views have been refuted by Winternitz (*vide* his article 'Śaktibhadra's place in the history of Sanskrit literature' in the *Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, Madras, pp. 3-8). Dr K. Kunjunni Raja also considers Kulaśekhara to have lived later than Śaktibhadra (*vide Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1958, p. 210). S. K. De, however, observes that the play is assigned to the 9th century on inadequate grounds and that it betrays knowledge of Bhavabhūti's plays (*vide* Dasgupta and De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, vol. I, p. 303), but Winternitz is of opinion that "there is no indication of Śaktibhadra's having been acquainted with Bhavabhūti's Rama dramas" (*op. cit.*, p. 5).

It may also be noted that although the *Āscaryacūdāmaṇi* is the first '*nāṭaka*' written in South India, it is not the earliest drama produced in the South, since there is instance of at least one earlier play, the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* of Mahendravikrama Varman (7th century A.D.).

In spite of the fact that *adbhuta* figures prominently in this drama, opinion is not unanimous as to whether that is the principal *rasa* in it. According to Prof. Kuppaswami Sastri⁴ the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* represents a special dramatic type in which the *adbhuta rasa* is intended to be treated as the dominating motif and that it is an illustration on the practical side of the *adbhuta*-synthesis which became crystallised in the view of Nārāyaṇa referred to in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. His view is based on two facts, namely (1) that the element of wonder is found in every Act and it is developed through successive stages, and (2) that the commentator 'Bhāradvājagṛāmaśāsin' while explaining the name of the drama states that it is wonder-dominated :

वीरकार्याद्भूतरसभूयिष्ठत्वेन आश्चर्यकराणां चूडामणिरित्याश्चर्यचूडामणिरिति संज्ञा ।⁵

This is accepted by several scholars like Winternitz,⁶ Raghavan⁷ and Kunjunni Raja.⁸

A different view is held by Kerala scholars like Vāṭakkumkūr Rājārāja Varma⁹ and Mahākavi Ullūr S. Parameswara Aiyar.¹⁰ According to them the principal *rasa* in this drama is *vīra*.¹¹ They have not stated their reasons, but presumably theirs is the traditional view. In this connection, the following facts which lend support to their view may be noted :

(1) The hero is Rāma and the main theme is his annihilation of the Rākṣasas headed by Rāvaṇa. This aim is indicated in the drama in different places, particularly in the famous verse which gave the author the title '*Bhuvanabhūti*' :

त्रिभुवनरिपुरस्याः रावणः पूर्वजश्चेदसुलभ इति नूनं विश्रमः कार्मुकस्य ।

रजनिचरनिवद्धं प्रायशो वैरमेतद् भवतु भुवनभूत्यै सर्वरक्षोवधेन ॥ II. 19.

The commentary on this verse speaks of Rāma as a *raṇavīra* and indicates *vismaya* (the *sthāyibhāva* of *adbhuta*) as a factor which contributes to *utsāha* (the *sthāyibhāva* of *vīra*): Cf. (p. 74) :

4. Vide *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*, Introduction, pp. 12-14.

5. Page 7. It may, however, be noted that this commentator gives an alternative explanation also, namely, 'that in which a wonderful crest jewel is introduced' :

आश्चर्यभूतश्चूडामणिर्यस्मिन् प्रतिपाद्यत्वेनाङ्गीकृत इति वा ।

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

7. Vide *The Number of Rasas*, Madras, 1940, p. 175.

8. *Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, p. 210.

9. Vide his *Keralīya-Saṁskṛta-Sāhityacaritram*, vol. I, Trivandrum, p. 328.

10. *Kerala-Sāhityacaritram*, vol. I, Trivandrum, 1957, p. 111.

11. Ullūr does not state explicitly the *rasa* to be *vīra* but cites a quotation to that effect and does not speak of *adbhuta*.

असुलभ इत्यत्र कार्मुकस्य प्रकृष्टप्रत्यर्थप्रतियोगित्वाभिधानं तदनादरं सूचयत् रामस्य रणवीरस्य गर्वप्रकर्षमावेदयति ।...

वीरः प्रतापविनयाध्यवसायसत्त्वमोहाविषादनयविस्मयविक्रमाद्यैः ।

उत्साहभूस्त च दयारणदानयोगात् त्रेधा किलात्र मतिगर्वधृतिप्रहर्षाः ॥

The commentary points out the emphasis on this central theme in several passages including the *nāndīśloka* and the words of the *Sūtradhāra*. A few instances may be noted :

(i) अस्मिन् नाटके जगद्रक्षणार्थमवतीर्णस्य रामस्य नेतृत्वं तच्चरितस्य जगद्रक्षणनिमित्तस्य धनुर्व्यापारसाध्यरावणादिवधस्याधिकारिकवृत्तत्वं च दर्शयति । (p. 3)

(ii) रामो हि ... सर्वराक्षसवधात्मिकां महोत्साहसाध्यसेतुबन्धादिगर्भत्वेन गुर्वी ... जगद्रक्षणफलत्वेन सर्वजनानुरञ्जनीं धुरं कर्तुमध्यवसायमकार्षीदिति । (p. 5)

(iii) अत्र कविना सर्वराक्षसवधहेतुकस्यार्थकामानुबद्धस्य धर्माख्यस्य नाटकफलस्य हेतुभूतः पराशालानिवासः...निबद्धः । (p. 48)

(iv) अस्मिन् श्लोके निष्प्रतिबन्धं सर्वरक्षोवधस्य साध्यत्वप्रतीतेः । (p. 74)

(v) लक्ष्मणोऽपि.....सीतान्वेषणे दशग्रीवनिग्रहे च महान्तमध्यवसायमङ्गीकृत्यार्यस्यापि तदध्यवसायं द्रढयति । (p. 129)

(2) Although in the sentence *virakāryādbhutarasabhūyiṣṭhatvena* etc. the commentator speaks of the abundance of *adbhutarasa* in this drama, it is not very clear whether he takes this to be the principal *rasa*, for very soon after, in the same context, while giving the characteristics of a *nāṭaka*, he states that *śṛṅgāra* or *vīra* is to be the principal *rasa* in a *nāṭaka* :

रत्युत्साहस्थाय्यात्मकीरशृङ्गारान्यतराङ्गिरसं.....यद्रूपकं तन्नाटकमित्युच्यते । (p. 8)

If in his opinion there is a deviation in this matter in this drama, this is the occasion for him to state that.

Moreover, where there is not only an occasion but even a need for the commentator to speak of the *adbhutarasa*, he does not do so. For instance, the passage in Act IV,

सीता—अज्जउत्त, अब्भुदंसणबहुरसो खु वणणिवासो । (p. 91)

is completely ignored by him.

(3) There is an unpublished work called *Naṭankuśa*¹² which is mainly a criticism of some of the characteristics in the acting of Sanskrit dramas

12. Manuscripts, Kerala University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, No. T. 1195; Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, No. R. 3003.

on the Kerala stage, particularly the *Anguliyāṅka* (Act VI) of the *Āścaryacūḍamaṇi*. It is a work of uncertain date but is not later than the 15th century and is perhaps much earlier. It states in unmistakable terms that the main *rasa* in this drama is *vīra* ; Cf.

चूडामणिप्रभृतिनाटकानां वीररसप्रधानत्वात् ।¹³

This is particularly noteworthy because the author of this work does not hold the view that in a *nūṭaka* the *āngirasa* should be *śṛṅgāra* or *vīra*, for he states that *śānta* can be taken as the main *rasa* in *Nāgananda*. Cf.

न खलु नागानन्दे शृङ्गारः प्रधानम्, शान्तस्य वा वीरस्य वा प्राधान्यात् ।¹⁴

That he holds Śaktibhadra in great esteem also deserves attention. He says:

यत्कृतं नाटकं चूडामणिश्चूडामणिः सताम् ।

स कस्यैव न मान्योऽयं शक्तिभद्रो महाकविः ॥¹⁵

(4) There is an unpublished *Ṭikā* on the drama.¹⁶ This does not speak of the *adbhutarasa* in it, but contains a statement which seems to indicate that the *rasa* is *vīra* :

शाङ्गधन्वा इत्यनेन विश्वरक्षोद्यमप्रकाशकेन सूच्ये नाटके धीरोदात्तवीरनायकत्वं सूचितम् ।

It is thus possible to advance arguments in support of the *rasa* being considered *vīra*.

There are, thus, two views which are at variance with each other and the question naturally arises as to which of these two, *adbhuta* or *vīra*, is to be taken as the main *rasa*. This difficulty can, however, be got over, for it is possible to reconcile the two different views if we take them as expressions from different points of view. From the point of view of the central theme in the drama, namely the feud between Rāvaṇa and Rāma, the *rasa* is *vīra*. From the point of view of the emotion that dominates the play and which leaves an abiding impression on the *sahṛdaya*, it is *adbhuta*.

When we examine the play with a view to knowing what the author has intended to be the main *rasa*, we can see that it is no doubt *adbhuta*. Even in the *Sthāpanā* we get the expression of surprise that a drama has come to the stage from the South ; it is "as incredible as flowers from the sky or oil from sand." The first Act opens with the wonderful feat of Lakṣmaṇa driving away the wild beasts by the mere twanging of his bow (p. 12). Then appears Śūrpaṅkhā, described as an *āścaryaratna*, who is

13. *Vide*. Trivandrum Manuscript, p. 65. This line is quoted by Ullūr also.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

16. Kerala University Manuscripts Library, Manuscript. No. T. 738 A.

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of such an enchanting beauty that it is difficult to decide whether she is human or divine (p. 14). Greater wonder, of course, mixed with fear, is produced in the second Act when she assumes her natural terrific form (p. 58). Attention is drawn by the author to the wonder felt by Rāma that Sītā in spite of her austere life in the forest appeared to him as charming as she was when at Ayodhyā (p. 57). In the third Act we find the wonderful presents given by the sages, the *adbhutāṅguliyaka* to Rāma and the *āścaryacūḍamaṇi* to Sītā : the touch of persons who wear them has the miraculous power of showing the identity of a disguised person. We also get here Mārīca in the form of a *māyāmyga*, Rāvaṇa disguised as Rāma, the Sūta as Lakṣmaṇa and Śūrpaṇakhā as Sītā. In the fourth Act, although the main incident is the battle between Jaṭāyu and Rāvaṇa, we find wonder also when Rāvaṇa involuntarily assumes his own form at the touch of Sītā's hand. Even in the fifth Act, which is primarily devoted to the *śṛṅgārābhāsa* of Rāvaṇa, the *adbhuta* comes out¹⁷ when astounded at Sītā's courage in resisting Rāvaṇa's advances, Maṇḍodarī exclaims :

धीरा खु एसा, महाराजस्सं सीसं पङ्कं विअ पादेण परिहरदि । (p. 173)

and also at the sudden appearance of Maṇḍodarī between Rāvaṇa and Sītā (p. 175). In the sixth Act with Hanūmān as its central figure and numerous references to his exploits and Sītā's exclamation of wonder at his being able to cross the ocean (p. 201), this *rasa* is fully kept alive. In the last Act we get a consummation of all this in Sītā's fire ordeal and the declaration of her purity by the gods. Thus, throughout the play we get the emotion of wonder, both *vīra-kārya* as well as *māyā-kārya*, alternating with each other.

It is also noteworthy that even after the achievement of his aim by Rāma, the sense of wonder is made to persist in his being unable to take for certain the lady before him to be Sītā herself because of the particular dazzling beauty imparted to her by Anasūyā. The voice of Agni proclaiming the superhuman greatness of the hero and the heroine¹⁸ is a declaration in them of the supernatural, and this supernatural is a major contributing factor to *adbhuta*. The reference to the *adbhutāṅguliyaka* by Sītā and the *āścaryacūḍamaṇi* by Rāma just before the *Bharataṭākya* also deserves attention.

There are also implied references to *adbhuta* in the play, as for e.g. :

17. Vide Kuppuswami Sastri, Introduction, p. 15.

18. देवयोरुभयोर्दृष्टं माहात्म्यमतिमानुषम् ।

यः स्वधैर्यं निराकारोन्निर्विकारा च यानले ॥ (VII. 34)

श्रोतुर्विस्मयनीयवस्तुविषयाः शैलाटवीसागराः (p. 48); अद्भुतदर्शनवहुरसः खलु वननिवासः (p. 91); पश्यद्भिरश्रद्धेयमिदमाश्रयम् । (p. 128).

It is clear from all this that the intention of the author is to present *adbhuta* as the main *rasa* in this play. As K. C. Pandey states¹⁹ "a drama is declared to present that particular aesthetic configuration, the basic emotion of which is directly related to the realisation of the particular objective by the hero, or an emotion that is not so related but is intended to be primarily presented by the dramatist" Therefore, although from the former point of view the *rasa* in *Āścaryacūdāmaṇi* may be taken as *vīra*, from the latter it has to be taken as *adbhuta*. In fact, the originality of Śaktibhadra lies mainly in this experiment of making what is generally considered a secondary *rasa* primary in his drama : what is laid down to be delineated in the *denouement*²⁰ not only pervades the whole play but remains the most prominent as well.

The opinion of the commentator that a *nāṭaka* should have *śyṅgāra* or *vīra* as the main *rasa* seems to be based on *Daśarūpaka*,²¹ but obviously the author is not following this. For one thing, this drama was written earlier than *Daśarūpaka* ; and secondly, Bharata does not impose such restrictions ; he simply lays down that a drama should have a variety of sentiments and emotions.²² Some of the later writers on dramaturgy like Śaradātanaya also do not follow *Daśarūpaka*.²³

The indication of the *rasa* to be *vīra* by the author of *Tikā* also is inadequate proof because it is based on the word *Śarṅgadhanvā* in the *Nāndī-sloka*, which contains also the expression *śayita iva samudraikadeśe samudrah*, which can well be taken as pointing to the *adbhuta* in the play.

It is also possible that the *Naṭāṅkuśa* being a work pertaining to actual acting, its opinion is to be understood as relating to the action on the stage, that the actors should give great attention to the presentation of *vīra* because, as Bharata states in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *vīra* gives rise to *adbhuta*.²⁴

19. *Indian Aesthetics*, Vol. I, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, Varanasi, 1959, p. 455.

20. निर्वहणो कर्तव्यो नित्यं हि रसोद्भुतस्तज्ज्ञैः ।

Nāṭyaśāstra, (N. S. Press, 1943). XVIII. 12.

21. एको रसोऽङ्गीकर्तव्यो वीरः शृङ्गार एव वा ।

अङ्गमन्ये रसाः सर्वे कुर्यान्निर्वहणोद्भुतम् ॥ *Daśarūpaka*, III. 38.

22. नृपतीनां यच्चरितं नानारसभावसम्भूतं बहुधा ।

सुखदुःखोत्पत्तिकृतं भवति हि तन्नाटकं नाम ॥ *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XVIII. 12.

23. रसालङ्कारसहितं नाटकं पूर्णलक्षणम् । *Bhāvaṇaprakāśana*, (GOS 45), VIII. 12.

24. वीराच्चैवाद्भुतोत्पत्तिः । (VI. 40) ; वीरस्यापि च यत्कर्म सोद्भुतः परिकीर्तितः । (VI. 42)

FUNDAMENTALS OF JAINA MYSTICISM*

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Introduction

It is surprising that the well-known *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* by J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 4th edn, 1958) does not make mention of Jaina mysticism. On pages 83-117 of Vol. IX of the work are discussed the nature of Hindu mysticism, Christian mysticism, Buddhist mysticism, Muslim mysticism, Jewish mysticism, Chinese mysticism etc., but unfortunately the nature of Jaina mysticism, has not been touched. So far as I know, it is Dr. A.N. Upadhye who has, for the first time, shown the possibility of mysticism in Jainism. In the year 1937 he treated this topic, though briefly, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Paramātma Prakāśa* of Yogīndu.¹ It is proposed to deal in this paper with the fundamentals of Jaina mysticism; thus providing an insight into the minds of the Jaina Ācāryas who have handled this subject.

The equivalent expression in Jainism for the word 'mysticism' is *Siddhopayoga*. The traditional definition of Jaina mysticism may be stated thus: "Mysticism consists in the attainment of *Siddha-hood* through the medium of Right belief (*Śamyag-darśana*), Right knowledge (*Samyak-jñāna*) and Right conduct (*Samyak-cāritra*) after dispelling wrong belief (*Mithyā-darśana*), wrong knowledge (*Mithyā-jñāna*) and wrong conduct (*Mithyā-cāritra*)." Kundakunda (1st century A.D.) records an advancement over this definition when he says: "Mysticism consists in realising the transcendental self through the internal self after renouncing the external self; i.e., after relinquishing the *Bahirātman* and by turning towards the *Antarātman*, one should realise the super-ethical state of the *Paramātman*."² through meditation and other moral practices. These two definitions are fundamentally the same. *Paramātman* refers to Siddhahood; *Antarātman* points to Right belief, and consequently to Right knowledge and Right conduct; and *Bahirātman* refers to wrong belief, and conse-

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1. *Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*, No. 10, Bombay, 1937.

2. *Mokṣa Pāhuḍa* of Kundakunda (*Pātani Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, Maroṭha) verse 4, 7.

quently to wrong knowledge and wrong conduct. Following Kundakunda, later thinkers like Yogīndu,³ Pūjyapāda,⁴ Śubhacandra,⁵ Kārttikeya⁶ etc. have endeavoured to explain the meaning of this definition. Now, in realising the transcendental self, the whole of the existence is intuited on account of the spontaneous efflux of omniscience. The realisation of self and the intuition of other substances are synchronal. According to Prof. Ranade, "Mysticism denotes that attitude of mind which involves a direct, immediate, first-hand, intuitive apprehension of God."⁷ It may be noted how close the definition as given by Prof. Ranade is to the Jaina exposition of mysticism, if only the word 'God' is understood in the sense of 'the transcendental self' as recognised by Jainism.

Mystic way

Thus, the *Bahirātman*, which is the perverted self, is to be renounced; the *Antarātman* which is the converted self implies the awakening of the consciousness of the transcendental self within, and of its outright separation from the body, the external world and the psychical states, both auspicious and inauspicious. *Paramātman* is the true goal of the mystic quest. The journey from *Antarātman* to *Paramātman* is traversed through the medium of moral and intellectual preparation which purge everything obstructing the emergence of potential divinity. Before this final accomplishment, a stage of vision and fall may intervene. Thus the whole mystic way may be put as follows: (1) Awakening of the transcendental self, (2) Purgation, (3) Illumination, (4) Dark night of the soul, and (5) Transcendental life. According to Underhill, "Taken all together, they constitute the phases in a single process of growth involving the movement of consciousness from lower to higher levels of reality, the steady remaking of character in accordance with the 'independent spiritual world'."⁸ It is to be remembered that the mystical endeavour is incapable of dispensing with any of the constitutive elements of psychical life—intellect, will, and feeling. In Jaina terminology, Right knowledge, Right conduct, which includes will and feeling, and Right belief, which is to be presupposed

3. See his *Paramātma Prakāśa*, Ed. A. N. Upadhye, *Ibid.*, I. 12.

4. *Samādhiśataka*, (Vira Sevā Mandira, Delhi), verses 4, 27.

5. *Jñānārṇava* of Śubhacandra, (Ed. Panna Lal, Bombay, 1913, *Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*), XXXII. 10.

6. *Kārttikeya-anuprekṣā*, (Ed. A. N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1960, *Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*), verse 192.

7. *Mysticism in Maharashtra*, (Oriental Book Agency, Poona), Preface, p. 1.

8. Underhill, *Mysticism*, (Methuen, London), p. 169.

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before the other two—all these are indispensable for mystical endeavour.⁹

The Metaphysician and the Mystic

In metaphysical terms we may say that mysticism is the manifestation of the inherent characteristics and modifications (*guṇa* and *paryāya*) of the self, i.e., it amounts to the realisation of self's *svatūpa-sattā*. Mysticism and metaphysics connote the difference of approach to the problem of reality. First, the fundamental aim of the mystic is to penetrate the veil of *Karma* and lead a super-empirical life which consists in the realisation of the whole of the existence by virtue of the effulgence of omniscience. The metaphysician seeks, in the end, the same goal, only he is so constituted that he tries to reach it by intellectual speculation. Secondly, the mystical attitude towards *Vyavahāra-Naya* is purely negative; for the mystic it is untrue and ultimately unserviceable. The metaphysician, on the contrary, ascertains the nature of reality by dint of *Pramāṇa* and *Naya*, and expresses it through the technique of *Syādvāda* after comprehending every aspect of reality by means of *Saptabhaṅgīvāda*. Thirdly, the mystic gets sublime satisfaction from immediate contact with the transcendental self and along with it with the whole of the existence through the medium of infinite intuitive knowledge in contradistinction to the metaphysician who gets merely intellectual satisfaction by mediately comprehending the whole of existence. In other words, the mystic has *Pratyakṣa-anubhava*, while the metaphysician has only *Parokṣa-anubhava*. Fourthly, the mystic does not contradict intellectual *anubhava*, while the mere metaphysician may counteract it. According to the Jaina, the intellect is not opposed to intuition, only the analytical character of intellect is transcended in intuition. The impotence of intellect to know the reality in its wholeness and clarity is overcome. The Jaina would not accept that reality at the intellectual and intuitional levels are totally opposed to each other.

Jaina tradition deals with the mystic way under fourteen stages of spiritual evolution, viz. (1) *Mithyātva*, (2) *Sāsādana*, (3) *Misra*, (4) *Aviratasamyagdarśi*, (5) *Deśavirata* or *Viratāvirata*, (6) *Pramattavirata*, (7) *Apramattavirata*, (8) *Apūrvakarāṇa*, (9) *Anivṛttikarāṇa*, (10) *Sūkṣmasāmparāya*, (11) *Upaśāntakaṣāya*, (12) *Kṣīṇakaṣāya*, (13) *Sayogakevalī* (14) *Ayogakevalī*.¹⁰ These stages of spiritual evolution may be studied under the following six heads :

9. *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya* of Amṛtacandra, (*Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā* 21, Bombay), verse 20.

10. *Gommaṣāra*, *Jīvakāṇḍa*, of Nemicandra, (*Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*, Bombay), verses 9-10.

- (i) Dark-period of the self prior to its awakening—(*Mithyātva-guṇasthāna*).
- (ii) Awakening of the self—(*Aviratasamyagdr̥ṣṭi-guṇasthāna*), and fall from awakening—(a) *Sāsādana*°, and
(b) *Miśra*°.
- (iii) Purgation—(a) *Viratāvirata*°, and
(b) *Pramattavirata*°.
- (iv) Illumination—(a) *Apramattavirata*°,
(b) *Apūrvakaraṇa*°,
(c) *Anivṛttikaraṇa*°,
(d) *Sūkṣmasāmparāya*°,
(e) *Upaśāntakaṣāya*°, and
(f) *Kṣīṇakaṣāya*°.
- (v) Dark-period post-illumination and fall to the first or the fourth *Guṇasthāna*.
- (vi) Transcendental life :—(a) *Sayogakevali*°, and
(b) *Ayogakevali*°.

Dark period of the self : *Mithyātva Guṇasthāna*

The suffering on account of which the empirical souls remain in a perpetual state of discontent and disquiet is naturally consequent upon the beginningless functioning of *mohaniya* (deluding) *Karma*, which on the physical side engenders a complex state of *Moha*. This state of *Moha* which pollutes the outlook of the self, and, consequently, makes its conduct unfruitful for ascending the loftiest heights of mystical experience, is a state of *Mithyātva* and *Kaṣāya*.

Mithyātva is responsible for turning our perspective in such a wrong direction that, in effect, there ensues non-belief or perverted belief in ultimate values.¹¹ This effect of *Mithyātva* is so dominant that the self does not evince its inclination to the real path, just as the invasion of bile-infected fever does not create a liking for sweet juice.¹² In other words, the perverted selves are inclined to the unveracious path.¹³ Metaphysically speaking, the self which has not imbibed the substantial outlook, but is devoted to impure modifications may be pronounced as *Parasamaya* or *Mithyadr̥ṣṭi*.¹⁴

11. *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabalī, (Jaina Sāhitya Uddhāraka Fund. Amaroti), vol. I, p. 163, verse 107.

12. *Gommaṭasāra, Jivakāṇḍa*, verse 17.

13. *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, vol. I, p. 162.

14. *Pravacanasāra* of Kundakunda, (Ed. A. N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1935, *Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*, No. 9), II. 1-2.

This *Mithyātva* is correlative of knowledge and conduct as well. In its presence, both knowledge and conduct, however extensive and suffused with morality they may be, are impotent to disintegrate the hostile elements of the soul and to lead one to those superb heights which are called mystical. Consequently, the darkest period in the history of the self will be the one when the self is overwhelmed by *Mithyātva*. It obstructs all our mystical endeavours. All the souls, from the one-sensed to the mindless five-sensed, fall a victim to this venom of *Mithyātva*, till they are born as five-sensed souls endowed with mind. It is astounding that, even in these rational five-sensed beings, some are such as will never triumph over this darkest period and, hence, will never win salvation. They are technically called *Abhavyas*, subject to the rounds of births and deaths and falling an easy prey to interminable afflictions.¹⁵ The physical counterpart of perversion is *Darśana-mohanīya-Karma*. The tendency of the perverted self is to engross itself in the modifications¹⁶ Being led astray by the perverted attitude, the soul identifies itself with bodily colour, physical frame, sex, caste, creed, family, friends, and wealth.¹⁷ "Under its influence one accepts the *Adharma* (wrong religion) as the *Dharma* (right religion), the *Amagga* (wrong path) as the *Magga* (right path), the *Ajiva* (non-soul) as the *Jiva* (soul), the *Asāhu* (non-saint) as the *Sāhu* (saint), the *Amutta* (unemancipated) as the *Mutta* (emancipated) and vice-versa."¹⁸ Then again, if the soul with its vitiated outlook advances on the moral path, it will consider the observance of vows, performance of austerities and the study of the scriptures, as ends in themselves, not as aids to the unfoldment of the divine within. In other words, *Vyavahāra-naya* would be deemed as the ideal.¹⁹ The state of perversion is, thus, to be understood as the state of *Bahirātman*.

Conversion, Moral, Intellectual and Spiritual

It has been pointed out above that the plight of the self in *Mithyātva Guṇasthāna* resembles the totally eclipsed moon or the clouded sky. It is a stage of spiritual slumber with the difference that the self itself is not cognisant of its drowsy state, an indubiously dark period, the self

15. *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda along with the comm. of Amṛtacandra, (Ed. Pt. Manohur Lal, 1919, *Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*, Bombay), verse-275.

16. *Paramātma Prakāśa*, I. 77.

17. *Ibid.*, 80-83.

18. *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, X. I 734. Vide Nath Mal Tatia, *Studies in Jaina Philosophy*, Banaras, 1951, p. 145.

19. *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda, verses 272-74.

being ignorant of that baffling darkness. A deep attachment to sensual life and unholy things, the identification of the self with the body, passions, and externalities, the ignorance of the super-empirical state of life which is beyond the realm of good and evil, and the subconscious discomposure of mind on account of its being the victim of fear and pride—all these are some of the broad characteristics of the clouded soul. Even if such an ignorant soul, account of the subsidence-cum-destruction of the knowledge-covering *Karma* and the occurrence of mild passion, becomes endowed with the capacity of intellectual and moral achievements respectively, it cannot be taken to have dispelled the spiritual darkness. In other words, an ignorant man may be an astute intellectualist, a resolute moralist, but still might lack that mystical quality by virtue of which he may be designated a real saint, a seeker of mystical truth, a person moving Godward. The above delineation may embarrass and astonish one, but the characters portrayed by Jaina Ācāryas of *dravya-lingī muni*²⁰ and some of the *abhavyas*²¹ who have attained the far height of intellectual knowledge and moral upliftment, illustrate this sort of life which lacks spiritual conversion. No doubt, intellectual learning and moral conversion, scriptural study and rigid adherence to moral principles may facilitate mystical conversion in certain souls, but they cannot, as a rule, bring about the latter. Intellectual attainments with moral achievements is fraught with social utility, but will bring forth invariably spiritual beneficence. Thus, spiritual conversion is to be distinguished from moral conversion and intellectual accomplishments. Outward auspicious conduct and effective scholarship can never be the index to a mystical mind. On the contrary, a man not pursuing strictly the moral path, and not possessing sophisticated outlook may own mystical conversion. But on this account, outward moral conduct and sophisticated learning need not be deprecated, though mystical conversion should not be confounded with them. For ordinary men like us, moral life alone or moral life together with learning is a thing fit to be adored. The mystic, should not confuse moral with mystical conversion. We cannot do better than quote Prof. Date on this point: "The moral life is, therefore, doubly valuable; valuable as a positive asset for the well-being of the society and valuable as the backbone and pointer of spiritual life."²² The flower of mysticism does not blossom in the water of mere morality, but requires spiritual manure

20. *Muni* without spiritual conversion.

21. Souls incapable of attaining liberation.

22. V. H. Date, *Yoga of the Saints*, (Popular Book Depot, Bombay), p. 76.

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as well. Morality pervaded with spiritualism can alone lead us to the transcendental heights of mystical experience.

Samyag-darśana : The awakening of the Self

The occurrence of *Samyag-darśana* or spiritual conversion is sometimes consequent upon the instruction of those who have realised the divine within themselves, or are on the path of God-realisation; while at other times, the self is automatically reminded of its spiritual heritage without the help of any outside instruction.²³ It may be pointed out that the external distinction in the origination of mystical turning is only apparent, and that the difference exists only in the direct and the indirect nature of instruction.²⁴ Hence the importance of instruction is paramount, since the self in whom spiritual conversion has taken place without apparently any direct instruction must have received instructions, if not here, in some previous birth. In other words, that soul which has not got any instruction since beginningless past is incapable of being converted spiritually; and he who has not such an opportunity in some previous birth may be so converted without any instruction as present. Thus, instruction is unavoidable. Yogīndu points out that insight is attained by the *Ātman*, when, finding an opportune time, delusion is destroyed.²⁵ In the *Yogasāra* he states that the soul visits unholy places and commits misdeeds till it recognizes the soul-God by the grace of the *Guru*.²⁶ Kundakunda advises us to meditate upon the self after knowing it through the holy medium of the *Guru*.²⁷ Either prosperity or liberation is obtained by meditating upon the *Ātman* after receiving instruction from the *Guru*, says Nāgasena muni.²⁸ It should not be contradictory to aver that "the secret of knowing God, realizing Him, is, whether we like it or not, in the hands of mystics."²⁹ "It is through them alone, as spiritual teachers or *Gurus*, that we shall have to bring about the spiritual conversion in us."³⁰ The announcement of Pūjyapāda that the self alone is its own *Guru*, as it is responsible for its transmigration as well as liberation, is the estimation

23. *Tattvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāti. (Bhāratiya Jñāna Piṭha, Kāśī, under the title *Sarvārthasiddhi*). I.3.

24. Cf. footnote on p. 21 of *Tattvārthasūtrabhāṣya*, (*Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*, Bombay).

25. *Paramātma Prakāśa*, I. 85.

26. *Yogasāra* of Yogīndu, (*Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*, Bombay), verse 41.

27. *Mokṣa Pāhuḍa*, verses 63-64.

28. *Tattvānūsāsana* of Nagasenamuni, (*Vīra Sevā Mandira*, Delhi), 196.

29. V. M. Date, *Yoga of the Saints*, p. 57.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

of the subject from the transcendental point of view, which is expressed by the word *paramārthatah*.³¹ On this account, the importance of *Guru* for mystical experience cannot be underrated, inasmuch as the significance of the empirical point of view (*Vyavahāra-Naya*) is incontrovertible to lead us to great heights.

Mystic's journey after spiritual conversion

With the dispelling of the dense and intense darkness caused by the vision-deluding *Karma*, a part of the journey of the mystic has been traversed. The self is now transformed into an *Antarāman*; it has become, on probation, a denizen of the new world.³² Pūjapāda remarks that the self which was under the spell of deep sleep on account of the absence of spiritual consciousness has now become an awakened self owing to the fact of having developed the taste for the spirit.³³ The illusion of body as the self, like the illusion of the trunk as the man and its consequent evil effects, has now come to an end.³⁴ The external sources which yielded gratification to the dormant self have now succumbed and, instead, the internal source of satisfaction has originated.³⁵ There has come about a total transplantation of interest. The inner significance has displaced the outer one. There is, however, yet a long and tiresome journey to be traversed by the self in order to transmute itself into *Paramātman* "and to secure a permanent and respectable position among members of the new life".³⁶ The conduct-deluding *Karma* still persists on account of which the aspirant finds himself incapable of supersensual adventure. Now, the passionate and ardent longing of the awakened self is to purge all that stands between it and the transcendental self. Its mystical adventure will now consist in eliminating the horrible contrast between the transcendental belief and the transcendental living, between the first enlightenment and the final one. The rest of the mystic's journey will be trodden by the help of the lamp of right knowledge and right will.

The great Ācārya Amṛtacandra says that those who have dispelled spiritual perversion, and who have comprehended the 'Path', and who are always in possession of a sturdy will are capable of pursuing the practical path.³⁷ Again, conduct followed by intellectual ignorance cannot be

31. *Samādhisataka* of Pūjapāda, (Vīra Sevā Mandira, Delhi), verse 75.

32. V. M. Date, *Yoga of the Saints*, p. 60.

33. *Samādhisataka*, verse 24.

34. *Ibid.*, 21-22.

35. *Ibid.*, 60.

36. V. M. Date, *Yoga of the Saints*, p. 60.

37. *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya* of Amṛtacandra, verse 37.

pronounced right. Consequently, the practice of conduct is advisable only after the intellectual comprehension of the 'Path'.³⁸ This should not be understood to mean that intellectual clarification and moral uprightness, though theoretically separable are also practically so. In practical life, the two influence each other and the one is incapable of being sundered from the other. In the Jaina scriptures we encounter the expression that right belief and right knowledge are related to each other as the cause and the effect, or as a lighted lamp and its light.³⁹ But this signifies only that spiritual conversion possesses the potency of effecting intellectual turning of the mind in the right direction. This should not imply that no further intellectual study and exertion are necessary. But there should be separate endeavour for the acquisition of knowledge, in spite of the a simultaneous emergence of *Samyag-darśana* and *Samyag-jñāna*, since they differ in characterisation, the characteristic of one being belief and of the other, knowledge.⁴⁰ Hence even after the aspirant has been converted spiritually, intellectual *Upāsana* and moral *Ārādhana* are incapable of being dispensed with.

Purgation

The aspirant who, in the fourth stage of the journey known as *Avirata Samyagdr̥ṣṭi Guṇasthāna* has been considered, owing to the rise of *Apratyākhyānāvaraṇa*⁴¹ passion, as reluctantly engaged in committing *himsā* to its full swing, and totally occupied with the gratification of animal pleasures, is now in the fifth stage of advancement and resorts to the observance of self-denial.⁴² Not being competent to make himself free from all vices, he gets over a part of his moral restlessness by taking recourse to the adoption of partial vows along with *Śīla-vrata-s*. This state of the

38. *Ibid.*, 38.

39. *Ibid.*, 34.

40. *Ibid.*, verse 32.

41. Though the passions are four in number, namely, anger (*Krodha*), pride (*Māna*), deceit (*Māyā*) and greed (*Lobha*), yet, on account of the functions they are reckoned to perform, each passion is of the following four kinds: (1) *Anantanubāndhī* passion, viz., that which obscures spiritual awakening, thereby preparing the ground for endless mundane career, (2) *Apratyākhyānāvaraṇa* passion, viz., that which eclipses the proneness to partial conduct, (3) *Pratyākhyānāvaraṇa* passion, viz., that which arrests the aptitude for complete conduct and, lastly, (4) *Samjvalana* passion, viz., that which baulks the perfect type of conduct, thus thwarting the attainment of Arhatship.

42. *Gommaṭasāra*, *Jivakāṇḍa*, verse 29.

self's journey has been designated as *Viratāvirata* or *Deśavirata Guṇasthāna*, since, here, the aspirant avoids the *himsā* of mobile beings having two to five senses, though on account of the rise of *Pratyākhyānāvaraṇa*⁴³ passion has yet to commit the *himsā* of one-sensed souls.⁴⁴

In his *Ātmānuśāsana* Guṇabhadra expresses the inadequacy of the householder for spiritual advancement. According to him the action of the householder is like an intoxicated man, or like an elephant's bath, or like the twisting of a rope by a blind man, since even sagacious persons in the household stage sometimes perform meritorious acts, sometimes perpetrate villainous actions and sometimes perform activities of a mixed character.⁴⁵ And, the latter two types of actions tend to obstruct the Purgative way pursued by the mystic. Thus the renouncement of the householder's type of living is necessary for the higher advancement of the mystic. The householder gradually triumphs over the subtle vices and converts himself into a saint, thereby relinquishing his vicious tendencies and acquiring self-restraint. Though *Pramāda* still exists in the life of the saint,⁴⁶ it is incapable of abrogating self-restraint, it simply engenders some kind of pollution in the life of the saint.⁴⁷ Hence, this stage has been called *Pramattavirata Guṇasthāna*, since *Pramāda* exists with self-restraint.⁴⁸ In other words, at this stage the self associated with self-restraint breeds impurity-producing *Pramāda* owing to the rise of the *Samjvalana*⁴⁹ type of passions and nine sub-passions.⁵⁰ The self, notwithstanding the observance of the discipline prescribed for the monk, lapses into the conscious and subconscious kinds of *Pramāda*.⁵¹ Nevertheless this stage may be regarded as the terminus of the Purgative way. In the words of Underhill, "The exalted consciousness of Divine perfection which the self acquired in its 'mystical awakening' was balanced by a depressed

43. See Fn. 41, above.

44. *Ibid.*, 31.

45. *Ātmānuśāsana* of Guṇabhadra, (Ed. J. L. Jaini, 1928, *Jaina Grantha Ratnākara* Kāryālaya, Bombay, 1928), verse 41.

46. *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama*, vol. I, p. 176.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

49. See Fn. 41, above.

50. These are : Laughter (*hāsyā*), Love (*rati*), Hatred (*arati*), Grief (*śoka*), Fear (*bhaya*), Disgust (*jugupsā*), Hankering after women (*puruṣaveda*), Hankering after men (*strīveda*) and Hankering after both the sexes (*napuṃsakaveda*). *Gommaṣāra Jīvakāṇḍa*, verse 32.

51. *Ibid.*, verse 33.

and bitter consciousness of its own inherent imperfection, and the clash of these two perfections has subjected it to the laborious efforts of accommodation which constitutes the Purgative way.⁵²

Reflection as Jñānayoga, Karmayoga and Bhaktiyoga

In order that citizenship of the super-empirical world may be acquired by the mystic, it is incumbent on him that he should pay the utmost allegiance to the tri-coloured flag of *Jñānayoga*, *Karmayoga* and *Bhaktiyoga*, properly propped up by the staff of *Samyag-darśana*. The triple colours refer, first, to the spiritual knowledge treasured up by *Svādhyāya* in its most comprehensive sense, secondly, to the conduct including the strenuous pursuance of various vows and austerities, and thirdly, to the religious humility emanating from the single-minded devotion to God (*Arahanta* and *Siddha*). The staff refers to the basic support in the form of transcendental awakening.

The enunciation of sixteen kinds⁵³ of reflection form the embodiment of *Jñānayoga*, *Karmayoga* and *Bhaktiyoga*, satisfying simultaneously the intellect, the will and the heart. Because of their integral character, they have been considered as being potent to accumulate the auspiciousness in the constitution of the self to such an extent that it may wear the crown of a Tirthankara either in this very life or in the ensuing birth. *Abhikṣanajñānopayoga*⁵⁴ is suggestive of *Jñānayoga*. *Śīlavrteṣvanaticāra*,⁵⁵ *Samvega*,⁵⁶ *Śaktitastapa*⁵⁷ and *Āvaśyakaparihāra*⁵⁸ may be taken to come under the personal aspect of *Karmayoga*. *Śaktitastyāga*,⁵⁹ *Pravacanavātsalya*,⁶⁰ and *Mārgaprabhāvanā*⁶¹ refer to the social

52. Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 381.

53. *Tattvārthasūtra*, VI. 24.

54. *Abhikṣanajñānopayoga* : To apply oneself constantly to the earning of spiritual knowledge.

55. *Śīlavrteṣvanaticāra* : To observe vows and renounce passions for the proper pursuance of the vows.

56. *Samvega* : To be apprehensive of worldly miseries.

57. *Śaktitastapa* : To pursue proper bodily austerities without concealment of strength.

58. *Āvaśyakaparihāra* : To perform essential duties.

59. *Śaktitastyāga* : To be charitable in food, shelter and knowledge to one's ability.

60. *Pravacanavātsalya* : To have an attachment towards the spiritual brethren.

61. *Mārgaprabhāvanā* : To influence society through the medium of knowledge, austerity, charity, *Bhakti* or adoration.

aspect of *Karmayoga*. *Vinaya-sampannatā*,⁶² *Śādhū-samādhi*,⁶³ *Vaiyāvṛtṭya*,⁶⁴ *Arahanta-Bhakti*,⁶⁵ *Ācārya-Bhakti*,⁶⁶ *Bahūśruta-Bhakti*,⁶⁷ and *Pravacana-Bhakti*⁶⁸ may be regarded as indicative of *Bhaktiyoga*. *Darśana-viśuddhi*,⁶⁹ which is at the head of all the above is suggestive of the pervasive principle of *Jñānayoga*, *Karmayoga* and *Bhaktiyoga*. This means that without the recognition of *Samyag-darśana* as the inspiring and backing essence, the activities of intellect, will and heart cannot take the spirit to sublime heights. The above classification simply points to the predominance of the intellectual, emotional and volitional elements in the different reflections, but, just as the three aspects of psychical life are interwoven into a complex harmony, these reflections, when rightly understood, point also to the interpenetration of one *Yoga* into the other two; in other words, each of them may serve as an independent whole of *Jñānayoga*, *Karmayoga* and *Bhaktiyoga*. Hence has the great Ācārya Pūjyapāda pronounced explicitly that these reflections may lead separately and collectively to Tīrthaṅkara-ship.⁷⁰ These reflections are beneficial both to the householder and the Muni. We may point out, in passing, that the culmination of *Jñānayoga* is omniscience, the consummation of *Karmayoga* is Ātmanic steadfastness and the perfection of *Bhaktiyoga* is blissfull experience.

Processes before Higher Ascension

We may now turn to the higher stages of advancement. When there is rise of *Samjvalana*⁷¹ and the nine sub-types of passion in such a mild form that it cannot generate even *pramāda* in the constitution of the self, the self is in the seventh stage styled *Apramatta-Samyata-Guṇasthāna*.⁷² This admits of two kinds, namely, *Svasthāna Apramatta* and *Satisāya Apramatta*. As long as the self, which has abrogated *Pramāda* in its fullness, which is associated with *Vrata*, *Guṇa* and *Śilā*, and which is incessantly absorbed in discriminatory knowledge and in *Dharma Dhyāna* (auspicious meditation), does not turn to ascend to higher stages by dint of either of the ladder of subsidence or that of annihilation, it may be regarded

62. *Vinayasampannatā* : To possess reverential attitude towards the Guru and the spiritual path.

63. *Śādhūsamādhi* : To remove obstacles from the path of a Muni.

64. *Vaiyāvṛtṭya* : To nurse the virtuous soul.

65 to 68. To have pure *Bhakti* in the *Arahanta*, *Ācārya*, *Upādhyāya* and *Pravacana-Śāstras*.

69. *Darśana Viśuddhi* : Transcendental Awakening.

70. *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Pūjyapāda, (*Bhāratiya Jñāna Piṭha*, *Kāśī*), VI. 24.

71. See above, Fn. 41.

72. *Gommatasāra*, *Jīvakāṇḍa*, verse 45.

as *Svasthāna Apramatta* or *Niratiśaya Apramatta*.⁷³ When it turns, it is *Sātiśaya Apramatta*. It is to be noted here that the self oscillates thousands of times, between the sixth and the seventh *Guṇasthānas*, and when it attains steadiness, it prepares itself strenuously either to suppress or to annihilate the conduct-deluding *Karma*.⁷⁴

Illumination of the *Guṇasthānas*

The second part of the seventh *Guṇasthāna* and the further *Guṇasthānas* upto the twelfth are meditational stages or the stages of illumination and ecstasy. The mystic who pursues the higher path through contemplation, would have, by this time, developed the power of spiritual attention, self-merging and gazing into the nature of the soul and the habit of introversion. In the process of *Adhahpravṛttakarāṇa*, which is completed with *Sātiśaya-Apramatta-Guṇasthāna*, the mystic abundantly experiences pure states of the self, and, after the expiry of one *Antarmuhūrta*, goes to the eighth stage, namely, *Apūrvakarāṇa* where he realises such states as were unprecedented in the history of the soul.⁷⁵ The maximum sojourn of the self in this stage is one *Antarmuhūrta*.⁷⁶ Here the self engages itself either in subsiding or annihilating the residual of conduct-deluding *Karmas* according to the ladder it chooses to climb up.⁷⁷ After the end of the afore-mentioned duration, it experiences *Anivṛttikarāṇa* (the state of profound purity) which is the ninth *Guṇasthāna*. In the tenth *Guṇasthāna* known as *Sūkṣmasāmparāya*, there is only subtle greed that can disturb the soul.⁷⁸ The self which has chosen the ladder of subsidence for its spiritual ascent suppresses even this subtle greed in the eleventh *Upaśāntakaṣaya Guṇasthāna*, and absolves itself from the rise of all types of passions. This height has been arrived at by the first type of contemplation, viz., *Śukla Dhyāna*.⁸⁰ Puṣyapāda observes that contemplation produces supreme ecstasy in a mystic who is firmly established in the self and who has withdrawn himself from worldly intercourse. Such an ecstatic consciousness is potent enough to burn the

73. *Gommaṭasāra, Jīvakāṇḍa*, verse 46, 47.

74. *Labdhisāra* of Nemicaṇḍra, (*Rāyacaṇḍra Jaina Śāstramālā*, Bombay), verses 205, 217.

75. Period of time less than forty-eight minutes.

76. *Gommaṭasāra, Jīvakāṇḍa*, verses 49, 50, 51.

77. *Ibid.*, 53.

78. *Ibid.*, 54.

79. *Ibid.*, verses, 59, 60.

80. *Jñānārṇava* of Śubhacaṇḍra, XLII. 20.

Karmic fuel and make the person remain unaffected by external troubles and discomposure.⁸¹ All the stages described above are undoubtedly the stages of illumination. The last stage is the termination of the 'first mystic life'. If the ladder of annihilation has been ascended, the self rises directly from the tenth to the twelfth *Guṇasthāna* known as *Kṣīṇakaṣāya*. Here, the residual of conduct-deluding *Karma* is destroyed instead of being suppressed.⁸² All other characteristics are identical with the eleventh stage. The soul remains for one *Antarmuhūrta* in this stage. With the help of the second type of *Śukla Dhyāna*, the self annuls all the destructive *Karmas* and the mystic enjoys transcendental life,⁸³ which shall be dealt with presently.

Dark night of the soul after illumination

The mystic who possesses the first fruits of contemplation may encounter their outright putrification, and experience a swing-back into darkness. This "divides the 'first mystic life' or illuminative way from the 'second mystic life' or transcendental life. It is generally a period of utter blankness and stagnation, so far as mystical activity is concerned."⁸⁴ "The self is tossed back from its hardwon point of wantage."⁸⁵ Technically speaking, the *Dvitiyopasana Samyagdṛṣṭi*, i.e., one who attains the designation of illuminated consciousness in the eleventh *Guṇasthāna*, falls down to the lowest stage of *Mithyātva* step by step after completing the period of stay in each stage.⁸⁶ This may be accounted for by saying that the suppressed passions gain strength after the lapse of one *Antarmuhūrta* and the mystic has to suffer unhappy consequences. The ecstatic awareness of the transcendental self which was the governing characteristic of illumination gets negated. The illuminated consciousness is perfectly content and tranquil, but after the lapse of the aforementioned period, the state of illumination begins to break up and an overwhelming sense of darkness and deprivation envelops the mystic. "This sense is so deep and strong that it inhibits all consciousness of the transcendent and plunges the self into the state of negation and misery which is called the Dark night."⁸⁷ The Dark night experienced by the *Kṣāyika Samyagdṛṣṭi*⁸⁸

81. *Iṣṭopadeśa* of Pūjyapāda, (*Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*, Bombay), verses 47, 48.

82. *Gommaṣasāra*, *Jivakāṇḍa*, verse 61.

83. *Labdhisāra* of Nemicaṇḍa, *Ibid.*, verses 600, 609.

84. Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 381.

85. *Ibid.*, 381.

86. *Labdhisāra*, verses 344, 345.

87. Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 382.

88. One who has annihilated the vision-deluding (*Darśana-mohanīya*) *Karma*.

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is not so intense as the one experienced by the *Dvitiyopāsana Samyag-dr̥ṣṭi*, in as much as the latter may fall to the first *Guṇasthāna* in contradistinction to the former who cannot go beyond the fourth one. Those who are great contemplators emerge from this period of destitution but those less heroic succumb to its dangers and pains. It may be noted here that not all mystics experience this Dark night. Those who ascend the ladder of annihilation escape this tragic period, and forthwith succeed in materialising the final accomplishments, in relishing the fruits of transcendental life in comparison with those who ascend the ladder of subsidence. Mystics of the latter type also will no doubt reach the same heights, but they will do so only when they have climbed up the ladder of annihilation either in this life or in some future life. As a matter of fact, the soul which has once attained to spiritual conversion, is entitled to be the inhabitant of the holy world ; the question is only of time, not of certitude. To sum up, some souls are confronted with darkness of three types in their life, the first, before conversion, the second, after conversion, and the third, after the ascension of the ladder of subsidence. In the first, though the self is overwhelmed by utter darkness, he is not aware of it ; in the second, the fall from spiritual conversion is not consciously recognised ; in the third, the self, after touching sublime heights, falls to the ground, and the invasion of darkness is naturally most perturbing and painful.

Transcendental life

The slumbering and the unawakened soul, after passing through the stages of spiritual conversion, moral and intellectual preparation, now arrives at the sublime destination by ascending the rungs of the meditational ladder. The dormant self which is prone to the renouncement and choice of external things and which, when awakened, is occupied with the rejection of inner evil desires and the acceptance of auspicious physical states, now neither abandons nor adopts anything, but rests in eternal peace and tranquility on account of its metamorphosis into the transcendental self.⁸⁹ The self which was swayed by perversion, non-abstinence, spiritual inertia, and the *Samjvalana*- and quasi-passions now refuses to be deflected by them ; it now possesses the dispassionate vocal and physical activities which cannot deprive the soul of mystical experience.

Activity is not incompatible with transcendental experience. It is a state of *Jīvan-mukta*, divine life upon earth. In the transitional stages, the auspicious *Bhāvas* which were used as temporary structures for taking

89. *Samādhitāṭaka*, verse 47.

refuge, have now succumbed, and the *Śuddha-Bhāvas* which will now serve as permanent dwelling have emerged. The *Antarātman* has been displaced by the *Paramātman*. Potentiality has been turned into actuality. The disharmony between belief and living has vanished. This is transcendental life, a super-mental stage of existence. It is the final triumph of the spirit, the flower of mysticism, the consummation towards which the soul of the mystic engaged itself strenuously from the commencement of the spiritual pilgrimage. Technically it is termed *Sayoga-Kevalī Guṇasthāna*, since it is accompanied by *Yoga* (activity) and *Kevalajñāna* (omniscience).⁹⁰ The *Gommaṣasāra* proclaims that in this *Guṇasthāna* the *Ātman* is called *Paramātman*.⁹¹

The next stage is called *Ayoga-Kevalī Guṇasthāna* since, therein, the soul annuls even the vibratory activities but preserves omniscience and other characteristics, and afterwards attains disembodied emancipation in contradistinction to the two types of embodied liberation enjoyed by the self in the previous *Guṇasthānas*. However, the difference in the state of liberation, embodied or disembodied, does not create the difference in spiritual experience, in as much as the four types of obscuring *Karmas* (*Ghati-Karmas*), namely, the knowledge-covering, the intuition-covering, the deluding and the obstructive, have ceased to exist. In the embodied state of emancipation, even the influx of *Karmas* which is due to the presence of *Yoga*, cannot operate in a polluted manner owing to the absence of passions. When the self lands in the *Sayoga-Kevalī Guṇasthāna*, it may be credited with the designation of *Arhat*, and it holds good before the attainment of the *Siddha* state.⁹² In other words, the self in the *Sayoga-Kevalī Guṇasthāna* and the *Ayoga-Kevalī Guṇasthāna* bears the title of *Arahanta* or 'Arhat'.⁹³

Characteristics of Arahantas

Arahantas lead a life of super-moralism, but not amoralism. It is inconceivable that the saint who has attained supremacy by dint of the realisation of perfect *ahimsā* may, in the least, pursue an ignoble life of *himsā*, a life of vice. He is, no doubt, beyond the category of virtue and vice, good and evil, *punya* and *pāpa*, auspicious and inauspicious psychical states, yet he may be pronounced to be the most virtuous soul.

90. *Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, vol. I, p. 191.

91. *Gommaṣasāra*, *Jīvakāṇḍa*, verses 63, 64.

92. Chainsukha Dass, *Bhāvanāvivēka*, (*Śālabodha Granthamālā*, Jaipur), verse 234.

93. *Ibid.*

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though the pursuit of virtuous life is incapable of binding him to the cycle of life and death.⁹⁴ Samantabhadra stresses the inconceivability of mental, vocal and physical actions in the *Arhat* since they are either impelled by desire or are born of ignorance.⁹⁵ Whatever issues from the *Arhat* is potent enough to abrogate the miseries of the tormented humanity. Thus, he is the embodiment of mystical virtues and is the spiritual leader of society.⁹⁶ He is beyond attachment, aversion and infatuation, and consequently he is absolutely dispassionate.⁹⁷ By virtue of his apprehending intuitively the nature of reality as also the implication of the sacred text, all his doubts have been resolved.⁹⁸ The consummate mystic experiences unprecedented bliss which originates from the innermost being of self, is supersensuous, unique, infinite, and interminable.⁹⁹ The mystical or spiritual consciousness is intuitive, blissful and all-powerful. We may say that the cognitive, conative and affective tendencies of the perfected mystic reveal their original manifestation in his supreme mystical experience which is ineffable and transcends all the similes of the world.¹⁰⁰

Arhat as the category of 'Holy'

The element of ineffability indicates that the essence of the *Arhat* cannot be completely exhausted in conceptual and rational terms. It points towards the 'Numinous'¹⁰¹ aspect of the *Arhat* which transcends or eludes comprehension in rational or ethical terms. We may, in other words, say that the *Arhat* is the 'wholly other.'¹⁰² By this, 'that aspect of Deity' being the mysterious overplus surpassing all that can be clearly understood and appraised, is asserted emphatically against any excessive anthropocentric tendency to scale down the sacred and Holy to the measure of our human reason.¹⁰³ It is on account of this element that the mind resorts to purely negative expressions. Though the expressions are negative, what they point out is something positive, which can be only within the reach of a direct and living experience. Thus the glory of spiritual life is inexplicable

94. *Jñānārṇava*, XLII. 33.

95. *Svayambhūstotra* of Samantabhadra, (Vira Sevā Mandir, Delhi), verse 74.

96. *Ibid.*, 35.

97. *Pravacanasūtra* of Kundakunda, I. 44; see also the Comm. of Amṛtacandra, thereon.

98. *Ibid.*, I. 14; II. 105.

99. *Ibid.*, I. 13.

100. *Jñānārṇava*, XLII. 76, 77, 78.

101. Otto, *Idea of the Holy*, Oxford, pp. 5-7.

102. *Ibid.*, Preface, xviii.

103. *Ibid.*

and beyond the *śāstras* and the senses, and can be experienced only through pure meditation or contemplation.¹⁰⁴ "In eternal divinity there is no devotional control of breath, no object of meditation, no mystical diagram, no miraculous spell and no charmed circle."¹⁰⁵ It will not be inconsistent if it is averred that the category of the *Arhat* is the category of the holy, a category of 'interpretation and valuation'. In other words, in the religious consciousness of the transcendent mystic there is "intimate interpenetration of the non-rational with the rational elements like the interweaving of warp and woof," ineffability being the non-rational element and the evaporation of bodily urges, the emergence of omniscience, acquirement of infinite power, abolition of all fear, enjoyment of illimitable joy, resolution of all doubts, consummation of virtues etc. being the rational element.

Siddha State: Transcendental Life Par-Excellence

The above stage is immediately followed by final emancipation which is the same as disembodied liberation, the last consummation of the spirit, the attainment of *Siddhahood*, transcendental life par-excellence, and the state of *Videha-Mukti*. This state of the self is beyond the *Guṇasthānas*.

The *Siddha* state transcends the realm of cause and effect, in as much as *Dravya* and *Bhāva Karmas* and the consequential four types of transmigratory existence have ceased to exist. The category of causality is applicable only to the mundane souls and not to the *Siddha* who is an unconditioned being. Kundakunda announces that the *Siddha* is neither the product of anything nor does he produce anything, and thus, is neither effect nor cause.¹⁰⁶ The *Ācārāṅga* pronounces, "All sounds recoil thence, where speculation has no room, nor does the mind penetrate there."¹⁰⁷ "The liberated is without body, without resurrection, without contact of matter ; he is not feminine, nor masculine, nor neuter ; he perceives, he knows, but there is no analogy ; its essence is without form ; there is no condition for the unconditioned."¹⁰⁸ This state of the self is the termination of the mystic's journey. It is the final destination for which the self was struggling all along. In other words, the history of the *Siddha* state of the self is the history of its mystical trails and tribulations in its march from slavery to freedom. Also, it is the history of the triumphant conclusion of its moral and spiritual exertion.

104. *Paramātma Prakāśa*, verse 23.

105. A. N. Upadhye, *Paramātma Prakāśa*, Introduction, p. 10.

106. *Pañcāstikāya* of Kundakunda, (Panni Lal Vakaliwala, Bombay, 1915, *Rāya-candra Jaina Śāstramālā*), verse 36.

107. *Ācārāṅga*, (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XX11), p. 58.

108. *Ibid.*

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF YĀJÑAVALKYA*

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Yājñavalkya, the promulgator of the *White Yajurveda*, prominent authority on the rituals in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and the propounder of the philosophy of *Brahman* and *Ātman* as elaborated in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, is one of the most illustrious among Vedic sages. From the *Mahābhārata*¹ we learn that there was a dispute between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil Yājñavalkya² which resulted in the latter worshipping the Sun and receiving from Him the revelation of the *White Yajurveda*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* etc. We have references to this interesting rupture between the great teacher and the equally great pupil in almost all the Purāṇas³ though the accounts differ somewhat from the one contained in the *Mahābhārata*. But they all agree on this point, that relations between the two were strained.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* we have several references to the dialogues between Yājñavalkya and Janaka Vaideha (Kṛti Janaka) on Agnihotra.⁴ Again, towards the end of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* we are informed that Yājñavalkya received the *Bright Yajus* formulae from the Sun.⁵ In the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*⁶ he appears as the great philosopher who taught the doctrines of *Brahman* and immortality to Maitreyī, his philosopher-wife. Further, we are told that he carried away the one thousand cows set apart by Kṛti Janaka for the most learned Brāhmaṇa.⁷ He also taught Janaka the knowledge of the Soul after its release from the bond of flesh and worldly affections.⁸

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1. *Śānti-parva*, chap. 312.

2. For details, see, my *History of Mithila (HM)*, Darbhanga, 1956, pp. 39-46.

3. For instance, *Viṣṇu.*, 3. 5; *Bhāgavata*, 12. 6. 61-74 etc.

4. *Śat. Brā.*, 11. 6. 2 (SBE. vol. 44, p. 46).

5. *Śat. Brā.*, 14. 9. 4. 33 :

आदित्यानीमानि शुक्लानि यजूषि वासजनेयेने याज्ञवल्क्येनाख्यायन्ते ।

6. *Bṛh. Up.*, 2. 4; 4. 5. For other details see *HM*, pp. 99-101.

7. *Bṛh. Up.*, 3, 1. 1-2.

8. Cf. also Pāṇini, 3. 3. 105.

Yājñavalkya is sometimes credited with having composed the renowned *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. But this is controversial though in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* itself the author is said to have received the *Āraṇyaka* from the Sun⁹ and to have composed a *Yogaśāstra*.¹⁰

Yājñavalkya's code of law is second in importance only to that of Manu. Its well-known commentary, *Mitākṣarā* of Viṣṇāneśvara, is the leading authority of the Mithilā School. While Manu is said to have legislated mainly for Brahmarṣideśa, Yājñavalkya is associated with Mithilā. The *Smṛti* is, however, comparatively late in respect of its style and doctrines, and, as such, it is difficult to accept the Vedic sage Yājñavalkya as the author of the *Smṛti*. P. V. Kane observes that "from the style and doctrines of the *Smṛti* it is impossible to believe that it was the work of the same hand that gave to the world the Upaniṣad containing the boldest philosophical speculation couched in the simplest, yet the most effective language".¹¹ The identity of the authorship of the *Smṛti* and the *Āraṇyaka* is not admitted without reservation even by the orthodox Indian opinion, in spite of the fact that "the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* is much more closely connected with *White Yajurveda* and the literature particularly belonging to it than with any other *Veda*".¹² It is significant that the *Mitākṣarā* says at the very beginning that 'a certain pupil of Yājñavalkya' abridged the *Dharmaśāstra* in the form of a dialogue.¹³ It is reasonable to take that the *Smṛti* is a later compilation of the views of the great master, prepared probably during the first two centuries of the Christian era or a little earlier.¹⁴

Scholars generally hold that Yājñavalkya was a native of Mithilā. Regarding his birth-place it has been asserted that some passage of the *Brahmaṇas* make it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that he belonged by descent to the Videhas.¹⁵ This is further confirmed, it is

9. ज्ञेयं चारण्यकमहं यदादित्यादवाप्तवान् ।

योगशास्त्रं च मत्प्रोक्तं ज्ञेयं योगमभीप्सता ॥ *Yāj. Smṛti*, 3. 110.

10. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I, pp. 168-69.

11. *Ibid.*, 169.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 169. For other details see, pp. 181 ff.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 169 :

"याज्ञवल्क्यशिष्यः कश्चित्प्रश्नोत्तररूपं याज्ञवल्क्यप्रणीतं धर्मशास्त्रं संक्षिप्तं कथयामास ।"

14. Besides *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, we have three other works connected with his name, viz. *Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya*, *Brhad-Yājñavalkya* and *Yoga-Yājñavalkya*. For a detailed discussion of these works and their dates, see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-90.

15. The present writer also held formerly the same view (*HM* p. 102) which, in the light of new materials, does not seem to be correct. Also, see S. V. Ketkar, *Maharāṣṭriya Jñānakōṣa*, (Poona, 1932), *Prastāvanā Khaṇḍa*, 1, vibhāga 3, p. 448.

claimed, by the fact his name does not occur in the group of the Kuru-Pañcāla Brāhmaṇas who flocked to Janaka's court, a fact which is sought to be disproved, in the following pages. It is true that Yājñavalkya was the most distinguished philosopher of the court of the equally distinguished philosopher-king, Janaka of Videha, but the assertion that Mithilā was the land of his birth does not seem convincing in view of the conflicting nature of evidences contained in ancient literature.

According to Pāṇini the term *yājñavalkya* means, 'one who promulgates sacrifices.'¹⁶ Yājñavalkya appears first as one of a small group of wandering scholars including Śvetaketu Āruṇeya and Śusma Satyayajñin when they met Janaka of Videha and had a discussion on some obtruse rituals. Janaka asked them to explain the meaning of the *Agnihotra* oblation. Yājñavalkya gave a satisfactory answer, but it contained some flaws which were pointed out to him by Janaka who himself explained the offering of *Agnihotra*. He then put questions to Yājñavalkya and thenceforward became a Brāhmaṇa or Brahmaniṣṭha, i.e., 'knower of Brahman.'¹⁷

This episode must be treated as significant, for it gave a break in the life of Yājñavalkya who now came to be respected greatly as a teacher by the great Janaka.¹⁸ It has another significant aspect too. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* clearly states that these wandering scholars were all from the Kuru-Pañcāla country. In other words, Yājñavalkya originally hailed from Kuru-Pañcāla which, in ancient times, included Western U. P., the Punjab, parts of Gujarat and the adjoining tracts. When Janaka respected him as his teacher, he probably settled down in Mithilā and became his court-philosopher. It was there that he postulated his celebrated theory of the means of self-realisation, which later led him to the crowning act of his life—viz. renunciation of the world and adoption of a mendicant's life, whence he became renowned as a 'Yogīśvara'. According to Mithilā tradition, the location of his *āśrama* is yet remembered and is identified by a huge benian tree at Jogaban near the Kamataul station on the N. E. Rly. (in the district of Darbhanga). The *Mithilā-tirtha-prakāśa*, however, places his *āśrama* near Dhanukhā in the village of Kusuma in Nepal¹⁹ which was once a part of Maithila territory.

16. See under Pāṇini 4. 2. 104 : अव्ययार्थम्.

17. For a detailed discussion, see *Sat. Brā.* 11.6.2.1. Also see A. K. Goomara-wamy, 'Janaka and Yājñavalkya', *IHQ* 13 (1937) 260-78.

18. *Sat. Brā.*, 11. 6. 201.

19. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, pp. 337-38.

That Yājñavalkya was not a son of the soil but just a domicile, is borne out by several facts which have not yet received the attention of scholars. History is full of instances of emigrants who have passed for the original inhabitants of the land where they first came and settled down, and in course of time merged with the local elements so completely as to render it impossible to distinguish them from the original inhabitants of the country. Against this background, the following facts, having bearing on the life and birth-place of Yājñavalkya, may be of interest :

(i) From the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 3.1, we learn that Janaka Vaideha once performed a *Bahudakṣiṇa* sacrifice. All the learned Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru-Pañcāla country were invited. Janaka wanted to know who the most learned of 'these Brāhmaṇas was.' The term, 'these Brāhmaṇas' undoubtedly refers to those coming from the Kuru-Pañcāla country. Of the eight renowned philosophers of the time who put difficult metaphysical questions to Yājñavalkya, Aśvala, the *hotṛ*-priest of Janaka was also one. This shows that Yājñavalkya was then treated as an outsider even by the *hotṛ*-priest of Janaka. Had he been accepted as a leader of Mithila philosophers, it is but natural to presume that at least Aśvala would have refrained from putting questions to him with a view to discredit him. It was probably after this memorable episode that Janaka, out of respect for Yājñavalkya's great learning, offered him his entire kingdom and wealth and persuaded him to settle down there and adorn his court as his most respected teacher.

(ii) Had Yājñavalkya originally belonged to Videha, Janaka would not have been unaware of his erudite learning and scholarship, which any king or country worth the name would rightly have been proud of. And, this is clear from his first meeting with Yājñavalkya as narrated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* itself.

(iii) Even during the time of the Buddha, Kuru-Pañcāla was a recognised seat of philosophy which enjoyed unrivalled fame in this field right from the time of the *Rgveda* down to the rise of Yājñavalkya, though by this time Kaikeya, Kāśī and Videha had also become celebrated centres of learning and scholarship. With Yājñavalkya, domiciled in Videha, the centre of learning shifted gradually from Kuru-Pañcāla to Videha,²⁰ which later came to be recognised as the undisputed home of advancement and enlightenment.

(iv) The name 'Yājñavalkya' is foreign to Mithila tradition and has never been popular either with the educated or with the uneducated.

20. For other details, see Rahul Sankrityāyana, *Darśana-digdarśana*, 457-58.

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whereas the names of many other sages and philosophers have found favour with the Maithilas who have adopted them for naming their children.

We have, however, no mention of his birth-place in our ancient literature. Some scholars²¹ believe that he was born in Camatkārapura, Vṛddhanagara (modern Vaḍanagara in northern Gujarat) but that later he accepted the citizenship of Videha on the request of King Janaka, and settled there.²²

There is a very strong factor, besides the above literary evidence which supports Yājñavalkya's Gujarātī birth. There is still prevalent among the Brāhmaṇas in Gujarat a *gotra* after his name,²³ whereas no such *gotra* or anything of the kind is to be traced in Mithilā where we have *gotras* after many other great seers. Had Yājñavalkya been a child of the soil, he would not have been ignored, when even comparatively much lesser seers and philosophers have been immortalised by the Maithilas in various ways. This is undoubtedly a very strong proof in support of Gujarat or the adjoining Kuru-Pañcāla country being the land of his birth.

Yājñavalkya was the scion of the distinguished family to which Viśvāmitra, Cārāyaṇa, Devarāta Brahmarāta and several other great seers belonged. The name of his mother was Sunandā.

Regarding his exact date there is much controversy among scholars and nothing definite can be said in the present state of our knowledge.²⁴

21. Hari Svāmī, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Bombay, 1940, pp. 26 ff.

22. *Ibid.* "महामुनिर्याज्ञवल्क्यः चम्त्कारपुरं वृद्धनगरं (वडनगर इति उत्तर-गुजरातप्रान्ते प्रसिद्धम्) वा अधिवसति स्म । यदा च जनकराजस्य देशिकपदमङ्गीचकार तदानीं मिथिला-मध्युषितवान् ।"

23. I am indebted to my esteemed friend Prof. Śobhākānta Jha of the Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga, for this piece of information.

24. P. V. Kane, *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

IDENTIFICATION OF ĀSANDĪVAT

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Āsandīvat¹ was the capital city of Janamejaya Pārikṣit where the horse of his famous Aśvamedha was bound.² Āsandīvat is mentioned for the first time in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which tells us of Janamejaya Pārikṣit's horse-sacrifice at this place with Tura Kāvāṣeya as his priest.³

The next reference to the place is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁴ and the *Śāṅkhayana Śrautasūtra*⁵ in the same context and quoting the sacrificial strophe, but the name of the priest has been changed to Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka.⁶ Pāṇini also knew this place and has mentioned it twice in his *Aṣṭadhyāyī*.⁷ It finds mention in the *Kāśikā*⁸ and the *Mahabharata*⁹ also.

Āsandīvat has been identified with Hastināpura¹⁰ but no scholar has put forward any evidence on which this identification is based. It seems that a confusion between the two Janamejaya Pārikṣits, one, an ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas and mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas* as a performer of Aśvamedha at Āsandīvat,¹¹ and the other, a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas

1. The name is variously given as Āsandīvat, Āsandīvān and Āsandī.

2. *Vedic Index*, I. 72 ; V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953, pp. 54, 71 and 144.

3. *Air. Br.*, VII. 27 ; VIII. 21. It also quotes the following *gāthā* ;

आसन्दीवति धान्यदं रुक्मिणं हरितस्रजम् ।

अवध्नादाश्वं सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजय इति ॥

4. *Sat. Br.*, XIII. 5. 4. 1-2.

5. *Śāṅkh. Śr.* XVI. 8. 27-28 ; 9. 1.

6. Probably Janamejaya Pārikṣit, performed two Aśvamedhas with two different priests.

7. IV. 2. 86 ; VIII. 2. 12.

8. VIII. 2. 12.

9. *Mbh. (Cr. Ed.)*, V. 31. 19.

10. Cf. A. D. Pusalkar, *The Vedic Age*, 1952, p. 152 ; H. C. Raychaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1953, p. 23 ; B. S. Upadhaya, *Prāchīna Bhārata kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), 1957, p. 49 ; J. C. Powell Price (ed.), *A History of India*, 1958, p. 15 ; H. H. Dodwell (ed.), *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, 1958, p. 8 ; etc.

11. According to F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Delhi, 1962, pp. 114 and 148, Janamejaya II.

described in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, who performed a *Sarpa-yāga* (snake-sacrifice) and ruled from Hastināpura,¹² has led scholars to identify Āsandīvāt with Hastināpura. This confusion can be detected in the *Mahābhārata* itself as also in the *Bhāgavata* and the *Varāha Purāṇas*.¹³ Some of our historians too, seem to have been confused by this similarity of names.¹⁴

The identification of Āsandīvāt with Hastināpura, based on the above confusion, suffers from other defects too.

Hastināpura was founded by king Hastin¹⁵ who was an ancestor of Janamejaya Pārikṣit I.¹⁶ It remained the capital city till Kuru shifted the centre of activity from Hastināpura to Kurukṣetra,¹⁷ the land between the Sarasvatī and the Dr̥ṣadvatī rivers.¹⁸ After Janamejaya Pārikṣit, Hastināpura was again the capital city of Jahnu and his descendants¹⁹ and continued to be an important place during later times also. Naturally, it must have been an important town in the times of Janamejaya Pārikṣit I also and if it was his capital city how is it that it has been referred to in the Vedic texts as Āsandīvāt and not by its much more popular name Hastināpura? Had Hastināpura and Āsandīvāt been the same place, it would have definitely been known by its more popular name of Hastināpura at least somewhere in the Vedic texts. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* we find that Hastināpura was known also by several other names, e.g., Nāgasāhvaya, Nāgāhvaya, Nāgapura, Gajasāhvaya, Gajāhvaya, Gajapura, Vāraṇasāhvaya, Vāraṇāhvaya etc., but nowhere do we find Āsandīvāt as another name for Hastināpura. Had Hastināpura and Āsandīvāt been the name of the same city, we should certainly have found Āsandīvāt among the various names of Hastināpura in the *Mahābhārata* or in the *Purāṇas* which are well known for their cyclopaedic information about such matters.

12. According to Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 330) Janamejaya III. These two Janamejayas will be designated Janamejaya Pārikṣit I and Janamejaya Pārikṣit II in our account that follows.

13. *Mbh.* (Cr. Ed.), I. 3; *Bh. P.* IX. 22. 35; *Var. P.* CLXXXXIII. 1-5.

14. H. C. Raychaudhari, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.; Dodwell, *op. cit.*, p. 1; etc.

15. *Mbh.* (Cr. Ed.), I. 96. 36.

16. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff.

17. *Mbh.* (Cr. Ed.), I. 89. 42-43; *Mbh.* (Satavalekar's Ed.), *Śalya Parva*, 52, 2; Cf. D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 12.

18. *Mbh.* (Cr. Ed.), III. 81. 175; also see R. C. Agrawala, 'Kurukṣetra in the Later Sanskrit Literature,' *Indian Hist. Quarterly*, 31 (1955) 293-322.

19. See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
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Another argument against this identification is that Āsandī has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as one of the five villages demanded by Yudhiṣṭhira from the Kaurava king Duryodhana who was ruling from Hastināpura as his capital. Now, if we equate Āsandīvat with Hastināpura, how is it possible that Yudhiṣṭhira could demand the very capital city from Duryodhana?²⁰ Āsandīvat, the capital of Janamejaya Pāriksit I had lost its glory as his successors sustained disasters and were finally obliged to leave Kurukṣetra.²¹ So, it was no more a capital city. It had been reduced to an insignificant position by that time, and so could easily be demanded by Yudhiṣṭhira.

Paṇini mentions both the names distinctly, but there is no clue for their identification. The *Kāśikā* on Paṇini 8. 2. 12, identifies Āsandīvat with Ahisthala. The basis of this identification, too, is the confusion between the two Janamejaya Pāriksits. As we have seen above, it was Janamejaya Pāriksit II who reigned from Hastināpura and performed a snake-sacrifice. The place of the snake-sacrifice would have been known as Ahisthala (*ahi*=snake) and it would not have been far away from his capital Hastināpura. It is not impossible that modern Aithal,²² a railway station on the Laksar-Haridwar section of Northern Railway, represents the ancient Ahisthala.

Now the question arises: If Hastināpura and Ahisthala cannot be equated with Āsandīvat, what other place can be identified with it? I am inclined to identify Āsandīvat with modern Asand— a small town 32 kilometres south-west of Karnal on the bank of the river Chitang supposed to be the ancient Dṛṣadvatī.²³ The probability of this identification has been suggested earlier²⁴ but without any grounds in its favour and without any arguments against the identification with Hastināpura. I offer two grounds for this identification—one, philological and the other, archaeological. Āsandīvat had been shortened to Āsandī

20. Recently R. C. Majumdar has also rejected the identification of Āsandī with Hastināpura on this very ground (*Journal of Indian History*, 42 (1964) 952).

21. H. C. Raychaudhari, *An Advanced History of India*, London, 1961, p. 42. Cf. also Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 114 and Pusalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

22. Just like Kaithal from Kapisthala (see V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 71) the etymology of Aithal from Ahisthala is proved philologically. Aithal is not far off from Hastināpura—this lends further support to our conjecture. However, nothing definite can be said in this connection. The word Avisthala in *Mbh.* 4. 31. 5 (Kumbhakonam Ed.) seems to be a corrupt reading for Ahisthala. It is interesting to note that Avisthala has been substituted here for Āsandī.

23. Cf. B. C. Law, *Geographical Essays*, p. 91.

24. Raychaudhari, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

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as we know from the *Mahābhārata*, and the change of Āsandī to Asandh in the course of more than two millennia is quite probable, the first vowel becoming shortened and the last consonant becoming aspirated. Now, for the archaeological ground. Many places which find mention in later Vedic literature and the *Mahābhārata* have yielded a particular type of pottery, known as the Painted Grey Ware which has been associated with Vedic Aryans.²⁵ Modern Asandh has yielded the Painted Grey Ware.²⁶ Moreover, the place lies in the Kurukshetra region, as is the Āsandīvat of Vedic texts.

Thus, philological, archaeological and circumstantial evidences prepare secure grounds for the identification of the ancient Āsandīvat with modern Asandh.

25. B. B. Lal, *Ancient India*, 10-11 (1954-55) 138 ff.
 26. *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, p. 65.

DEVI CULT AT JAGAT, A REVIEW

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The Ambikā Temple at Jagat, near Udaipur, (Pl. I) is a veritable microcosm of the *Devī* cult as prevalent in Mewar during the 10th century A.D. The *Devī* complex at Jagat is of great interest for students of Indian literature and iconography. The sculptures thereof are in a well preserved condition under the aegis of the State Department of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan. The temple has been described by K. V. Soundara Rajan in his paper on 'Devī Cult Nucleus at Jagat, Rajasthan',¹ and by the present writer in 'Khajuraho of Rajasthan : The Ambikā at Jagat'.² Some of the observations made by Soundara Rajan in his above-mentioned paper require further scrutiny and interpretation. It is also necessary to draw pointed attention to some of the more important iconographic features which have not been dealt with by Soundara Rajan or the present writer in their papers cited above.

1. Mātangi

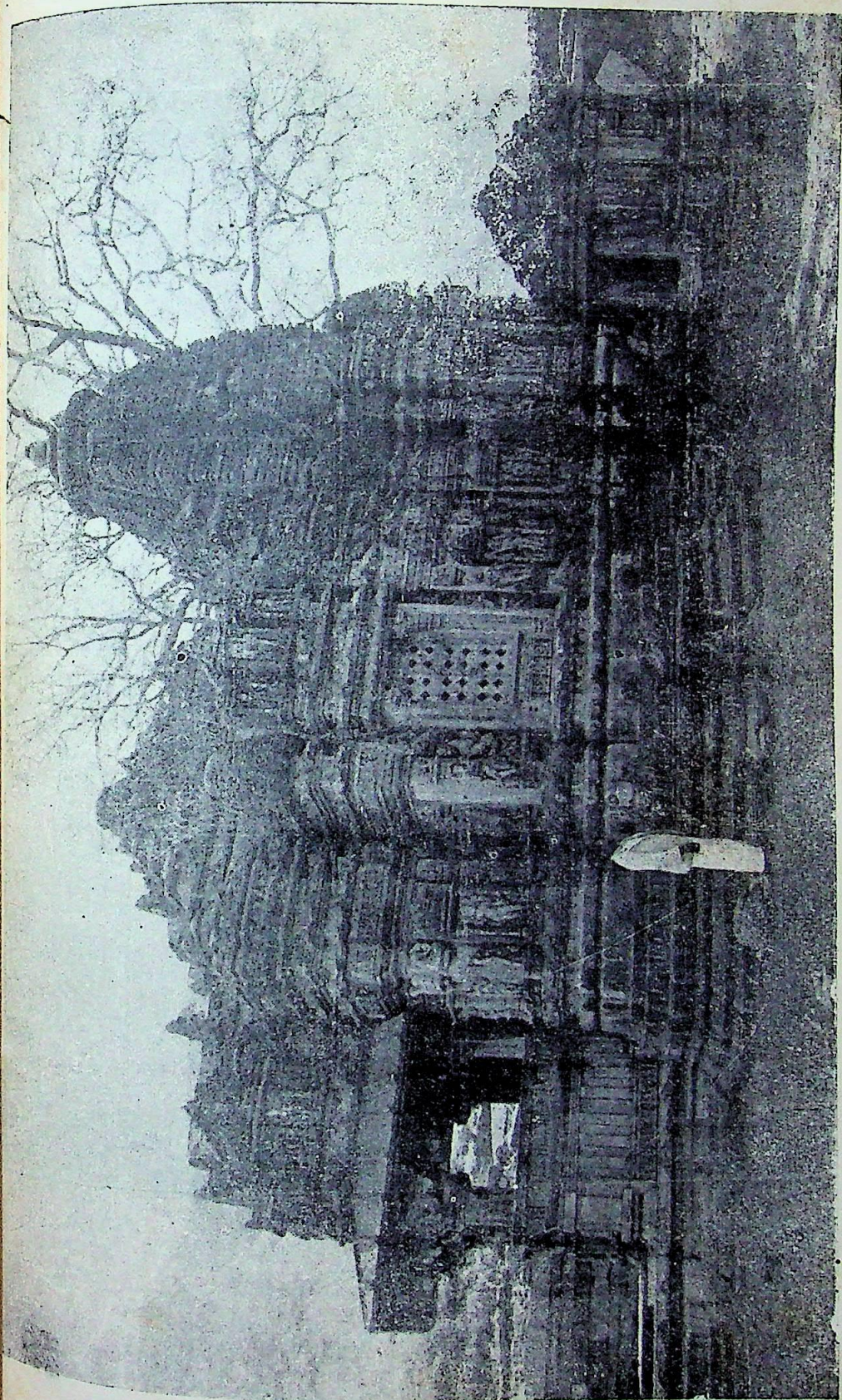
The lintel of the entrance porch of the Ambikā temple presents a four-armed figure (just above Gaṇapati) holding a *vinā* quite vividly. (Plate II) This has been identified by Soundara Rajan as goddess Mātangi (*VIJ*, *ib.*, p. 139). This identification is not correct. I examined the sculpture at the site several times; it is decidedly a male figure, *Vinadhara Śiva*, seated over a bull in the traditional manner. The central figure, just above the entrance to the main temple at Jagat and described as 'Sarvamangalā' (*VIJ*, *ibid.*, p. 138) does not carry a lotus in one of her four hands; a 'bell' is quite clear in the upper left hand and not a 'flower'.

2. Ambikā and Parrot

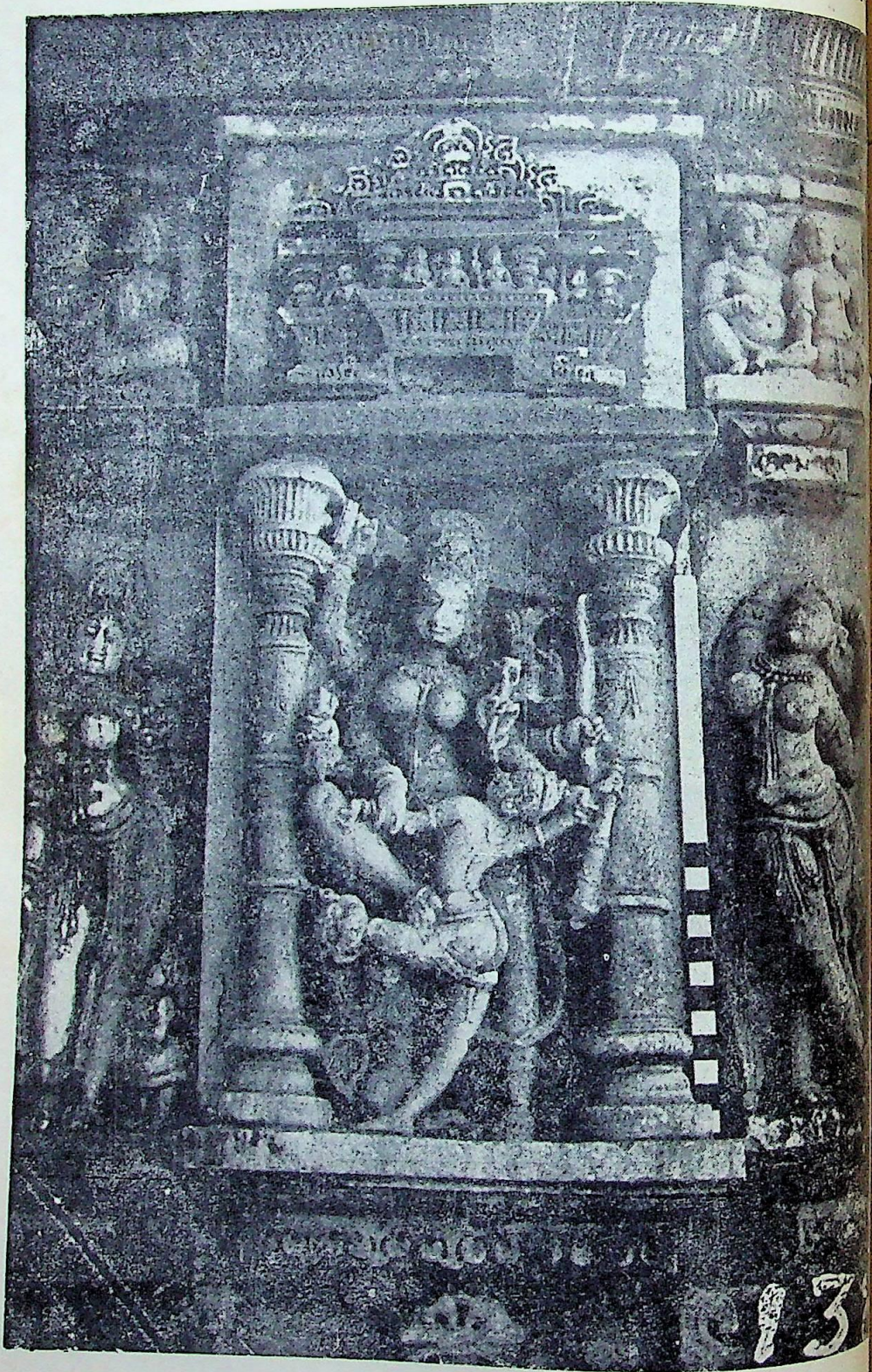
The principal back niche of the main temple depicts the eight-armed goddess Mahiṣamardini in mediaeval style. (Plate III) The presence of a parrot (*suka*) towards the left top reminds us of the association of the parrot with the goddess Ambikā-Durgā, as pointed out by Soundara Rajan. (*VIJ*, *ibid.*, pp. 136-37). Equally important are the two images in the side-niches of the *antarāla* in front of the entrance to the

1. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal (VIJ)*, I (1963) 130-40 and plates.

2. *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris, 10 (1964) 43-65 and plates.



General view of the Ambika Devi Temple, Jagat, Rajasthan.



Durgā attacking Mahisāsura in human form.

sanctum of the Temple. Of these, one is four-armed and the other is shown with eight arms; both are shown in the seated pose and carry a skull-crowned mace (*khaṭvāṅga*) in one of their hands. In both these statues also, we notice a parrot perched in an elegant manner on the top of the *khaṭvāṅga* which is a rare motif in the realms of Ambikā-Durgā. Recently I came across an interesting female figure hanging above the bracket inside the dome of the 12th century Temple at Īswāl, near Udaipur. Here the two-armed *Sundarī* figure holds a mango-twigg (*āmra-lumbī*) in her left hand where too is a parrot perched likewise. The figure is represented as playing with a baby with her right hand. The presence of a mango-twigg confirms her identification with goddess Ambikā and the depiction of a parrot perched on her left hand tends support to this identification.³

This recalls to one's mind the mediaeval stone relief on the exterior of Kaṇḍaria Mahādeva Temple at Khajuraho where the goddess carried an *āmra-lumbī* in her right hand and a parrot is seen perched on her left.⁴ The relief has not been identified properly, being merely called 'a lady with a parrot'. In fact, we have here goddess Ambikā holding a mango bough and a parrot as noticed in the Īswāl (Rajasthan) statue cited above. It would be interesting to trace literary reference in support of these iconographic traits.

3. Nārāyaṇī-Durgā

A niche at the south exterior of the sanctum of the Ambikā Temple, touching the very basement thereof, preserves a unique sculpture of a four-armed *Devī* carrying all the *Vaiṣṇava* weapons, viz., the conch, wheel, mace and *varada* pose. She wears a crown on the head and takes her seat over a human corpse (*preta*) lying prostrate. This is peculiar and may represent the *Nārāyaṇī-Durgā* in 10th century sculpture. Literary reference in support of this identification is wanting, though we do have a reference to goddess Vārāhī with a human corpse below her seat. The face of the goddess in the statue under study is human, which enhances its importance. There is no Garuḍa in the Jagat sculpture.

4. Mahiṣamardini

The exterior left (towards north and the particular niche facing east) of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the Temple presents a beautiful niche wherein

3. Representations of the Jain Ambikā too carry *āmra-lumbīs* in one of their hands as seen in the Ghaṭiyālā relief of Vikrama year 918 and the *devī* seated over a lion. Cf. my paper, 'Unpublished Pratihāra remains from Ghaṭiyālā', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 12 (1962-63) 285-87, fig. 3.

4. Urmila Agrawala, *Khajuraho Sculptures*, Delhi, 1964, fig. 96, p. 166.

we notice an eight-armed goddess Mahiṣamardini attacking the Mahiṣa-demon shown in complete human form (Plate IV. See VIJ, *ib.*, p. 136). This is a rare motif and has not been properly evaluated as yet. The same type of statue, though of the four-armed variety, can be seen in the southern niche of the Tirthodaka Shrine⁵ at Jagat itself. It would seem as if the sculptors at Jagat were particular to present a vivid view of Devī combating the Mahiṣa-demon in complete form. A crude statue of this very type was recently noticed by the present writer on the left-hand exterior portion of the 12th century Śiva Temple at Menāl (near Chittor). It appears that this unusual motif was introduced in Mewar under art-contacts with Rāṣṭrakūṭa traditions through Madhya Pradesh. The problem needs further scrutiny and confirmation. It reminds us of some famous early Mahiṣamardini reliefs from Orissa and the Deccan. In the well-known Mahābalipuram⁶ and Bhubaneshwar⁷ reliefs we notice Devī fighting Mahiṣāsura, shown in hybrid form, having the face of a buffalo with a human body. The Ellora sculpture depicts the demon with a human face and a human body, but with two buffalo's horns.⁸ On the other hand, in the above specimens from Jagat and Menāl even the horns are missing, a feature which has not been reported from elsewhere as yet. Viewed in this light, the sculptures of Jagat are of unusual iconographic interest. The exteriors of both the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the *garbhagṛha* thereof present a vivid view of Durgā in her various aspects, though we have also, alongside, few beautiful representations of Sarasvatī (Goddess of learning). A study of the sculptures on the top exteriors of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple is yet to be made.

5. Tirthodaka Tank

The Tirthodaka tank towards the north of the temple is worthy of note in this connection. The main exterior niches thereof contain statues of Mahiṣamardini only, all of them of the four-armed variety, the principal back image being in the typical mediaeval style. The niche facing north depicts Devī breaking the neck of Mahiṣa (animal)⁹ whereas the image to the south presents the demon in complete human form, as noticed above.

5. This is a Tank towards the north built in order to store the sacred water coming out of the main sanctum of this temple and given the form of a miniature shrine having statues of Durgā and the *Dik-pālas* on the exterior. It has a small gate from the east.

6. K. M. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, Bombay, 1957, plate 84.

7. *Ibid.*, plate 146.

8. *Ibid.*, plate 85.

9. This is an earlier device which was in vogue at Jagat during the 10th century. An eight-armed statue of this very type can be seen on the southern exterior niche of the sanctum of the main temple here itself (R. C. Agrawala, *Arts Asiatiques*, *op. cit.*, fig. 12 on p. 61).

SEPT., 1965]

DEVĪ CULT AT JAGAT

285

The details of the *Parikara* of the principal image under worship in the
 sting. Here, the miniature
 contain tiny figures only
 at of Ambikā. The complete
 c pantheon (i.e., Brahmā,

To

The Editor,
 VISHVESHWARANAND INDOLOGICAL JOURNAL,
 Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute,
 P. O. Sadhu Ashram,
 HOSHIAFPUR, (Pb., India).

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 an independent Temple of
 year 1028, only 11 years
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 temple). Early mediaeval
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 has brought to light an
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 hand, the lower right
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 t Jagat and so also at the
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 of a Fish with Vārāhī is also evident in the Mātrkā panel of the 8th century

10. But for a tiny figure on the left exterior holding a skull-crowned mace in
 one of the two hands. The male figure may represent Śiva.

11. It is still an unpublished piece.

12. R. C. Agrawala, *Arts Asiaticques*, op. cit., fig. 1 on p. 45.

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Place C. K. Kangri

Date

From

Sir,

I write to acknowledge receipt of one Subscription/Exchange/Complimentary/Review copy of the VISHVESHWARANAND INDOLOGICAL JOURNAL, Vol. III., Pt. II.... (Sept.... 1965).

Yours sincerely,

Name : DHARMAN DEVA

5. This is a Tank towards the north built in order to store the sacred water coming out of the main sanctum of this temple and given the form of a miniature shrine having statues of Durgā and the Dik-pālas on the exterior. It has a small gate from the east.

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7. *Ibid.*, plate 146.

8. *Ibid.*, plate 85.

9. This is an earlier device which was in vogue at Jagat during the 10th century. An eight-armed statue of this very type can be seen on the southern exterior niche of the sanctum of the main temple here itself (R. C. Agrawala, *Arts Asiatiques*, op. cit., fig. 12 on p. 61).

The details of the *Parikara* of the principal image under worship in the sanctum of the main temple are also interesting. Here, the miniature niches, carved on the greenish-blue schist blocks contain tiny figures only of Ambikā-Durgā, the central image too being that of Ambikā. The complete absence of *Lakuliśa* or the triad of Brahmanic pantheon (i.e., Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva)¹⁰ at Jagat is equally noteworthy.

6. Lakuliśa

The cult of Lakuliśa was quite popular in Rajasthan during the 10th century A.D. Not only this, there did exist an independent Temple of Lakuliśa at Ekaliṅgajī (near Udaipur) in Vikrama year 1028, only 11 years after the construction of the Jagat Temple (cf. inscription of V. S. 1017 on the pillar of the *sabhamanḍapa* of the main temple). Early mediaeval sculptures of Lakuliśa from Chittor (70 miles from Udaipur) are also worth taking note of. One four-armed specimen in seated pose can be seen studded in a niche on the exterior left of the famous Sun Temple at Chittor. Similarly, we find a statue of a two-armed standing group holding a staff in one of the hands on the exterior of Kumbhaśyāma Temple at Chittor itself. Conservation work at Chittor has brought to light an early-mediaeval statue showing *ūrdhvaretas* and standing Lakuliśa of four-armed variety with an axe and a trident in the upper left and right hands respectively, and a *lakula* in the lower left hand, the lower right hand being in a mutilated condition.¹¹ It is rather difficult to account for the utter absence of *Lakuliśa* sculptures at Jagat and so also at the Pratihāra centres of Rajasthan, like Osian, Ābanerī, Buchkalā etc. Even the exteriors of the Lakuliśa Temple of V. S. 1028 do not present the *ūrdhvaretas* Lakuliśa, and that is very important from the iconographic point of view. Then again, there is absolutely no provision for any niche on the back of the sanctum of the Lakuliśa Temple of Vikrama year 1028, a fact which is equally important from the architectural point of view.

7. Vārāhī and Fish

The door jamb of the Entrance Porch outside the Main Temple of Ambikā at Jagat depicts the Divine Mothers in seated pose. In one of the left-hand niches appears the four-armed goddess Vārāhī¹² seated over a buffalo and carrying a fish (*matsya*) in her upper left hand. The association of a Fish with Vārāhī is also evident in the Mātrkā panel of the 8th century

10. But for a tiny figure on the left exterior holding a skull-crowned mace in one of the two hands. The male figure may represent Śiva.

11. It is still an unpublished piece.

12. R. C. Agrawala, *Arts Asiatiques*, op. cit., fig. 1 on p. 45.

from Ābānerī, now preserved in the Amber Museum.¹³ It is therefore clear that the motif of showing a Fish (*matsya*)¹⁴ in one of Vārāhī's hands was introduced into Rajasthan sculptures probably during the 8th century A.D., under some Tāntric influence. A contemporary sculpture from Central India or Rajasthan, now preserved in the British Museum, London, depicts the fish held by Vārāhī in her mouth.¹⁵ This finds support from the Buddhist work *Niṣpanna Yogāvalī* where it is specifically stated that the four-armed Vārāhī is to hold a Rohita-fish and a skull in addition to *añjali* pose : वाराही पेचकारूढा¹⁶ चतुर्भुजा सव्यवामाभ्यां रोहितमत्स्यकपालधरा द्वाभ्यां कृताञ्जलिः ।¹⁷

The influence of Tāntric impact in Rajasthan during the early-mediaeval period is still to be fully investigated. But we know that there existed, in the 4th century A.D., a Mātṛkā Temple at Gaṅgadhāra (Jhalawar district, Eastern Rajasthan), built under the Tāntric style and said to have been dedicated to the Dākīnī Mothers. The exact nature thereof is shrouded in mystery and so also is the problem of the origin and growth of Tantrism in Rajasthan.

13. R. C. Agrawala, 'Animal-faced sculptures from Rajasthan,' *Bhāratiya Vidya*, Bombay, 20-21 (1963) 303, pl. 1.

14. One of the five *makāras*.

15. R. C. Agrawala, 'A rare image of Vārāhī in the British Museum at London,' *Oriental Art*, London, 97 (1963) 167 and plate.

16. The owl as the vehicle of Vārāhī is not to be seen in Indian sculptures so far published.

17. Ed. *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, No. 109, (Baroda, 1949), *Dharmadhārū Prakaraṇa*, p. 62.

GREATER-INDIAN STUDIES : PRESENT DESIDERATA

C. HOOPYKAAS

Reader in Old Javanese, University of London

While being requested to contribute the present paper, I was addressed as 'Reader in Greater Indian Studies'. Strictly speaking, this may not be correct, my appointment being in 'Old Javanese', though essentially correct to a considerable extent : for, since 1926, when I started with my work on the recensions of the *Pañcatantra* in Java and Bali, and after interruptions due to studies on Malay and Indonesian literature, and Balinese and Sasak folktales, teaching and organising, positive work in editing and negative prisonership of war, I find myself back, during the last dozen years, in 'Greater-Indian Studies.' It started with the *Old-Javanese (OJ) Rāmāyana*, for which Himansu Bhushan Sarkar¹ and Manomohan Ghosh² had suggested the *Bhāṭṭikāvya* as the possible source ; this brainwave was correct, as later examination proved, and had its consequences in the study of the entire Old Javanese *kakawin (kāvyā)* literature, both in the matter of shape and contents.³ And now, my interest is fixed on Sanskrit in Java and Bali, of which we find a certain amount in everyday speech, but more in the writings, whereas nearly the whole of the rituals performed by the brāhman (and even some non-brāhman) priests in Bali consist of Sanskrit or a language meant to be and to sound as Sanskrit.

It is intended in this paper to take stock of the comparative study of the literatures of 'Greater-India,' especially of Bali and Java, done thus far, to point out what remains to be done, and finally to indicate the errors to be avoided while pursuing these studies.

There is still one third of the *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata* in OJ prose epitomes, made a thousand years ago by order of the then king of the main part of Java, and still recited by the Balinese. It is also paraphrased, by

1. *Indian influences on the Literature of Java and Bali*, Greater India Society, Calcutta, 1934.

2. 'On the source of the *Old-Javanese Rāmāyana Kakawin*,' *J of the Greater India Society (JGIS)*, 3 (1936) 113-17.

3. My (a) *The Old-Javanese Rāmāyana Kakawin, with special reference to the problem of interpolation in kakawins*, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1955 ; and (b) 'The *Old-Javanese Rāmāyana*, an exemplary kakawin as to form and content', *VKNW*, North-Holland Publ. Company, Amsterdam, 1958.

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way of sacred and beneficial literature, on the occasion of *rites de passage* in the family and drawn upon by puppeteers of the shadow theatre for their performances, as e.g., the story from the *Ādi-parva* relating how Uttanka is sent by his guru Dhaumya to ask for the *āditya-kunḍala* of the *rāja-ratnī* of king Pausya in the well-known *Pauṣya-carita*.⁴ The central books of the *Mahābhārata* are dealt with in a court poem in *kāvya* metres hence called *kakavin*, the *Bhārata-Yuddha*,⁵ which in Muslim Java was cast into more typical Javanese verse and more modern language, a few centuries ago;⁶ the poem is drea ed and so are shadow performances drawn from it. On the other hand, Arjuna's resisting the nymphs of heaven and their entreaties, ending with his marriage, *Arjuna-vivāha*, was a favourite *kakavin*,⁷ rendered also into more modern metres and language⁸ and under the name *Mintarāga* (*vīta-rāga*, 'he from whom passion has gone'),⁹ is performed at Muslim weddings because of its beneficial influence.

Rāmāyana kakavin is the oldest, bulkiest, best known and perhaps the most respected of its class;¹⁰ the first half has proved to have been inspired by the *Bhāṭṭikāvya*; the source of the second half has not yet been traced.¹¹ Here, too, are a more modernising adaptation¹² and shadow-¹³

4. 'Bhagavān Uttanka kaṭus narēh Nitja-guṇḍala' (sic), ms. 2229, Gedong Kirtya, Singaradja, Bali.

5. J. G. H. Gunning, *Bhārata-Yuddha*, *Oudjavaansch Heldendicht*, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1903. 'Mpu Sēdah en Mpu Panuluh, Bhārata-Yuddha,' vertaald door R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka en C. Hooykaas, *DJAWA* 14 (1934) 1-87; separately: Kolff & Co. Batavia, 1934.

6. A. B. Cohen Stuart, 'Brātā-Joedā, Indisch-Javaansch heldendicht', *VBG* 27 28, 1860.

7. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, 'Arjuna-Wiwāha', *BKI* 82 (1926) 181-305; sep. ed. Nijhoff, The Hague.

8. R. Friederich, 'Wiwāha Djarwa en Brātā Joedā Kawi (fragment)', Batavia, 1870.

9. J. F. C. Gricke, 'Wiwoho of Mintorogo', *VBG* 20 (1844).

10. H. Kern, *Rāmāyana kakawin*, *Oudjavaansch Heldendicht*, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1900; H. H. Juynboll, *Kawi-Nederlandsch Glossarium op het OJ Rāmāyana*, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1902; Dutch translation by Kern in *BKI* 73 (1917), (repr. in *VG* 10 (1922); continued by Juynboll *BKI* 78-94 (1922-36); excised fragments in English translation in *me*: *BKI* 113-14 (1957-58).

11. C. Bulcke, *Rāma-kathā*, Ph. D. thesis-Allahabad, 1950; my book, cf. note 3(a).

12. C. F. Winter, 'Romo, een Jav. gedicht naar de bewerking van Joso Dhipoera', *VBG* 21/2, (1847).

13. J. Kats, *Het Javaansche Tooneel*, I. *Wajang Poerwa*, Volkslectuur, Weltevreden, 1923.

well as dance-performances 'in court and kampong', to use the title of a classic in Malaya.

The genre of court poems in 'long metres', about a dozen of which are genuinely OJ, and some scores of which are Old-Javanising,¹⁴ composed in Bali up till the present day, is largely studied and composed by the leisured class of brāhman priests, and is sung and paraphrased by all who are interested in old-fashioned literature, in private, in clubs as well as in public contests between villages.¹⁵ Finally, there seems to be some parallelism between the fact that in Borneo/Kalimantan on the occasion of great festivities for the dead, *titivah*, long litanies are sung.¹⁶ One speciality of the equally potlatch-like cremations of the dead in Bali (*titiva*) is the singing of fragments from the *kakavins*, generally by brāhman priests.

Much more could and should be said about the *kakavins*, of which only less than ten have been published and translated (into Dutch), though a hundred are extant in palmleaf manuscripts. Among the latter are the *Vṛtta Sañcaya*, a textbook dealing with more than a hundred Indian metres,¹⁷ and the *Vṛttāyana*, again on the subject of metres.¹⁸ That the OJ poets knew about *alamkāra* is evident from the OJ *Ramāyana*,¹⁹ but its influence in later poems has yet to be investigated.

The Purāṇa has its representative in Indonesia in the *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa*,²⁰ which is still studied in Bali, where at the court of the central kingdom of Bangli, once I witnessed some brāhman priests discussing an obscure passage in their palmleaf mss., ignorant of the existence of Gonda's critical edition.

Of the *Pañcatantra*, not less than a dozen, more or less complete, versions could be found in Java and Bali.²¹

14. (a) A. C. Vreede, *Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereeshe Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek*, Brill, Leiden, 1892. (b) H. H. Juynboll, *Supplement op den catalogus van de (idem) I*, Brill, Leiden, 1907.

15. I Wajan Bhadra, 'Mabasan [ma-bhāṣa-an] of beoefening van het Oud-Javaansche op Bali', *Mededeelingen Kirtya Liefdrinck-Van der Tuuk* 5, 1937, Bijlage.

16. A. Hardeland, *Versuch einer Grammatik der Dajackschen Sprache*, 1858, Anhang.

17. Oud-Javaansche Leerdicht over Verstoouw, Brill, Leiden, 1875, repr. in *VG* 9, (1920).

18. [R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka], *Lijst der Javaansche handschriften in de beekerij van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Wetenschappen*, Jaarboek I idem, 1933, p. 375.

19. My monograph, mentioned in note 3 (b).

20. J. Gonda, *Het Oud-Javaansche Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa*, *Bibliotheca Javanica* 5 and 6, 1932-33; J. Gonda, 'The Old-Javanese *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa*' in *Purāṇa* II (1960) 252-67.

21. My Ph. D. thesis, *Tantri, de Middel-Javaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking*, Leiden, 1929.

In the field of law, only the *Kuṭāra-Mānava* has been made accessible in a critical edition and Dutch translation;²² Pigeaud gave *résumés* of several *śāsanas*,²³ but here too much work remains to be done.

On *Nīti-śāstra*,²⁴ the *Ślokāntara*²⁵ and the *Sāra-samuccaya*,²⁶ apparently the most important works, have been made accessible; the last-mentioned work, in Bali, of which I prepared a *chāyā* as well as an English translation for Raghuvira, has been made accessible by three different scholars through three different publishing firms, after the war.²⁷

In the field of religion, Goris did the work of a pioneer, and, like other pioneers, had to wrestle with insufficient equipment.²⁸ Zieseniss, more than a decade later,²⁹ was better equipped, and the texts, studied by him, have now been published by the International Academy of Indian Culture.³⁰ A larger number of texts on Śaiva-siddhānta in Sanskrit *ślokas* with OJ translation or paraphrase are awaiting publication.

22. J. C. G. Jonker, *Een Oud-Javaansche Wetboek vergeleken met Indische rechts-bronnen*, Ph. D. thesis-Leiden, Brill, Leiden, 1885.

23. See pages 289-339 in his Leiden Ph. D. thesis, *De Tantu Panggèlaran*, Smits, The Hague, 1924.

24. R. M. Ng. Poetbatjaraka, 'Oud-Javaansche tekst met vertaling uitgegeven door', *BJ* 4 (1933).

25. 'An Old Javanese didactic text, critically edited and annotated by Sharada Rani, Ph. D. thesis-Utrecht (1957), International Academy of Indian Culture (IAIC), Nagpur, 1957.

26. (*A Classical Indonesian compendium of high ideals*) by Raghuvira, IAIC, New-Delhi, 1962.

27. My 'Books made in Bali,' *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bombay, XX-XXI (1963); *BKI*, 119 (1963) 371-86.

28. R. Goris, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie*, Ph. D. thesis-Leiden, Vros, Leiden, 1926. Essentially much older, but recently re-edited in English is R. Friederich, *The civilisation and culture of Bali*, Calcutta, (1959).

29. 'Studien zur Geschichte des Çivaismus: I. die çivaitischen Systeme in der Altjavanischen Literatur' *BKI* 98 (1939) 75-224. Posthumous: II. Die Śaiva-Sytematik des *Wṛhaspati-tattva*, IAIC, New Delhi, 1958.

30. *Wṛhaspati-tattva*, an OJ philosophical text, critically edited and annotated by Sudarshana Devi, Ph.D thesis-Utrecht, 1957, IAIC. *Ślokāntara*, cf. note 25. *Gaṇapati-tattva*, an Old Javanese philosophic text, critically edited, annotated and translated [into Hindi] by Mrs. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, IAIC, New Delhi, 1958. *Wratīśāsana*, a Sanskrit text on ascetic discipline with *Kaui exegesis*, edited and annotated [in Hindi] by Mrs. Sharada Rani, IAIC, New Delhi, 1961. *Tattvajñāna and Mahājñāna* (Two *Kaui philosophical texts*), edited, translated [into Hindi] and annotated by Sudarshana Devi Singhal, IAIC, New Delhi, 1962. Cf. also my 'Śaiva-siddhānta in Java and Bali,' *BKI* 118 (1962) 309-27.

In the field of Buddhism, Kern gave the story of Kuñjarakarna and Pūrṇavijaya and the numerous pious lessons it contains.³¹ Kats published the system of Mahāyāna in text and translation,³² and Wulff re-edited part of this book.³³ Recently Pigeaud presented the kakavin *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, a very important work written by a Bauddha, under the title *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, in five volumes.³⁴ Ensink is working on the Buddhist kakavin *Sutasoma*, a work which is well known³⁵ and, notwithstanding its bulk, accessible in print in Bali.

Sylvain Lévi with his *Sanskrit texts from Bali*,³⁶ and more recently, encompassing a much wider field and based upon years of study and not only weeks of stay, Gonda with his *Sanskrit in Indonesia*³⁷ have done much for making the field known ; finally, the *Glossary of Sanskrit from Indonesia* by Ensink and Van Buitenen, to be published shortly through the *Vak* (Deccan College, Poona), will constitute a new challenge for perfection.

Philosophy and literature have been the determining factors for the shape and decorations of the OJ monuments, for which Buddhist Caṇḍi Bara-buḍur was, till recently, the most famous, and the Śaiva Caṇḍi Prambanan, of which the restoration has just been completed. The monograph on Bara-buḍur by Van Erp and Krom is well known. A similar monograph on the second-mentioned monument is yet to be produced. Dr. Bosch has discussed at length the degree to which the *śilpa-śāstras* have contributed to the construction of the *caṇḍis*,³⁸ a very large of which are scattered all over Central and East Java.

Java's epigraphical inheritance has been dated in detail by Damais.³⁹ By far the majority of the edicts has been published, though only

31. Royal Academy, Amsterdam, 1901; reprint in *Verspreide Geschriften* 10 (1922).

32. *Sang Hyang Kamahāyanikan*, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1910.

33. *Sang Hyang Kamahāyanikan Mantrānaya*, Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1935.

34. Nijhoff, The Hague, 1960-63.

35. H. Kern, *Kalmāṣapāda en Sutasoma*, Royal Academy, 1912; *Verspreide Geschriften* 3 (1915).

36. *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, 67, Baroda, 1933.

37. International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur, 1952.

38. 'Een hypothese omtrent den oorsprong der Hindoe-Javaansche kunst' in *Handelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Java*, Albrecht, Weltevreden, pp. 93-170.

39. *Etudes d'Epigraphie Indonésienne*, I-II in *BEFEO* 45 (1951); III in 46 (1952); IV in 47 (1955).

tentatively, by Brandes/Krom; a considerable part has been translated and discussed, at greater depth and length,⁴⁰ but still much work remains to be done, in Java as well as in Bali, where Van Stein Callenfels made a start⁴¹ and Goris completed a fraction of the whole corpus inscriptionum.⁴²

Java's highest mountain is called Sméru, (cf. *Skt.* *Su-Meru* or *Mahā-Meru*). To the East of it we find a region called Bésuki after Vāsuki and Situbandā after the *setubandha* in the *Rāmāyana*; to the West are mountains called Kavi and Arjuna. The indebtedness of Greater India to India may not be very deep, but the names are there, and we have to expect a similar relationship in the fields of literature and theatre, religion and philosophy, metaphysics and ritual, and so on and so forth. We might review the items of the preceding paragraphs in the same sequence and make some remarks, not with the least intention to denigrate Indonesians or to deter Indian students; on the contrary. For, first of all, I wish to repeat my revindication of the Balinese brāhman priests against Sylvain Lévi's sweeping statement that they do not understand a single word of the Sanskrit they read, write and chant.⁴³ An abundance of Sanskrit words has become part and parcel of the Balinese language or at least is understood by the better educated part of the population; moreover the priests have their paraphrases⁴⁴ of their own for more than a hundred different hymns in honour of the gods, in lengths varying between two and twenty *śloka*s. But they have lost their faculty of grammatical analysis and cannot be called Sanskritists, even though they still possess mss. with the title *Kāraka*.^{44a}

Most of the *Mahābhārata*, if it has ever, presumably, been completed is apparently lost. The shadow plays, as popular in Hindu Bali as in Muslim Java, are constructed and elaborated in such a way that an expert on the Indian epic, though able to follow the puppeteer during his all-night

40. E. g., J. G. de Casparis, *Inscripties uit de Cailendra-tijd*, Nix, Bandung, 1950 and *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th century A.D.*, Masa Baru, Bandung, 1951 together to be considered as 'Prasasti Indonesia I and II' (acc. to an announcement in the cover of the last-mentioned publication).

41. 'Epigraphia Balica I', VBG 46 (1926).

42. *Prasasti Bali*, I and II, 1954, Masa Baru, Bandung.

43. *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, GOS 67, 1933, p. X.

44. For instance Ms. 1843, *Astava Mantra*, coll. Gedorg Kirtya, Singaradja, Bali.

44a. Lévi, GOS, 67, pp. 87-88.

performance, would be a little bewildered.⁴⁵ Moreover, frequently, the performances are given on the occasion of *rites de passage* or to avert (further) evil, so that the puppeteer may, on such occasions, be considered as having the function of an exorcist priest.⁴⁶ To satisfy this demand fully, in Bali, he should master the work *Dharma Pavayanan*, 'Eternal law of the Shadow play';⁴⁷ and, notwithstanding the first word of its title, this treatise might be more Javano-Balinese than Hindu.

From the OJ *Bhauma-kāvya* to the Bhauma of Indian mythology is a long leap;⁴⁸ only, on this and the OJ *Rāmāyaṇa* detailed research into Indian-Indonesian relation has been carried on.⁴⁹ *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*⁵⁰ and *Parthayajña*,⁵¹ *Arjuna-vijaya* (a Buddhist poem)⁵² and *Lubdhaka*,⁵³ with their Indian titles and contents, though reconnoitred in a pioneering way, still await edition and close research as to their relationship with Indian literature, not to mention the other *kakavins*.

Indian metres are used for a kind of language where the sharp distinction of long/short is unknown; hence the deviation from the very beginning. Indian *alamkāra* has been known, the *śabdālamkāra* better than the *arthalamkāra* and of *śabdālamkāra*, mostly *anuprāsa*⁵⁴ which, however, is not necessarily Indian and belongs to most languages.

45. A whole night's performance has been stylised in Javanese and made accessible in Dutch transl. by Tjan Tjoe Siem, *Hoe Koeroepati zich zijn vrouw verwerft*, Ph. D. thesis-Leiden 1938. Cf. also E. M. Uhlenbech, 'Aantekeningen bij Tjan Tjoe Siem's vertaling van de lakon Kurupati Rabi', *VKI* 29, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1960.

46. My 'Two exorcist priests in Bali', *Man*, No. 231 (1960).

47. Gedong Kirtya, Singaradja, Bali' mss. 106, 369, 1151, 1610; a monograph is in preparation.

48. A Teeuw, *Het Bhomakāvya*, [in Dutch translation], Ph. D. thesis-Utrecht, 1946, Wolters Groningen.

49. My monographs mentioned in note 3.

50. Poerbatjaraka, 'Inhoudsopgave van den *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*', *TBG* 57 (1915) 227-40.

51. Poerbatjaraka, 'Inhoudsopgave van het gedicht *Parthayajña*', *TBG* 53 (1918), 380-90.

52. H. H. Juynboll, o. c., note 14 (b), pp. 135-37.

53. Same catalogue of Mss., pp. 157-59; cf. my 'Agama Tirtha, Five Studies in Hindu-Balinese Religion,' *Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij*, Amsterdam, 1964; V. *Śiva-rātri*.

54. Cf. my second monograph on the *Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa* mentioned in note 3 (b).

In works like *Tantu Paṅġelaran*,⁵⁵ *Kauravāsrama*⁵⁶ and some others, the later OJ literature has its own type of Purāṇas, but from the whole range of Indian compositions of this kind only the *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa* could be found and edited.

The prose version of the *Pañcatantra*, called *Tantri-Kāmandaka*, more than the metrical recensions, could be compared with an Indian *Pañcatantra*; here, as in several other instances, the version emanating from South India is the nearer to the Greater-Indian version.⁵⁷

In the case of *Sara-samuccaya*, about half of its 513 *ślokas* could be traced to Indian literature, the principal source being the *Udyoga-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. Neither the structure of the three works on *nīti* mentioned nor the *ślokas* of *Ślokāntara* could be found in any of the numerous Indian collections in this field. The way of thinking is Indian, the language Sanskrit, the form *śloka*—but either the Indian digests have been lost (or have not yet been discovered) or the compilers of these Javano-Balinese works have composed their own *ślokas* along Indian lines of thought.

When Sylvain Lévi examined the fifty odd Sanskrit *stuti* texts communicated to him by the Balinese brāhman priests, Śaiva and Bauddha, he discovered that practically no line from them could be traced in India, even those which he managed to emend into impeccable Sanskrit. Some *pādas* showed resemblance to Sanskrit *pādas* in the collections of hymns to the gods he consulted, and they breathed a true Indian spirit, but that was all. About the Śaiva ritual he told his readers that it was found all over India, probably because he could not follow it minutely due to the priest's bewildering swiftness of actions of mouth and hands. The text which he published, under the title *Veda-parikramah*, and the score of mss. which I consulted, supplementing one another to a sufficient extent, offer an action essentially different from the picture of South Indian Śaiva ritual studied by Diehl⁵⁸ and Madame Brunner⁵⁹ even though simple *mantras* and whole sets of *mantras* sounded similar and served the same purpose. I am preparing a book to show this in detail

55. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, Ph.D. thesis-Leiden, Smits, The Hague, 1924.

56. J. L. Swellengrebel, *Korawacrama*, Ph.D. thesis-Leiden, 1936, Mees, Sanskritpoort, 1936.

57. My *Tantri Kāmandaka*, *Bibliotheca Javanica* 2, Nix, Bandung, 1951.

58. G. C. Diehl, *Instrument and Purpose: Studies on Rites and Rituals in South India*, Gleerups, Lund, 1956.

59. H. Brunner-Lachaux, *Le rituel quotidien dans la tradition śivaïte de l'Inde du Sud selon Somaśambhu*, Institut Français, Pondichéry, 1963.

The whole problem of OJ religion is rather complicated and deserves detailed study ; only after that, perhaps, can more positive and firm statements be made. That Śaivism was predominant, as it is now in Bali, still seems acceptable. The rulers, however, to some extent, seem to have been Vaiṣṇava.⁶⁰ If OJ Viṣṇuism had been of the same kind as the *pūja* ordained for the present-day *kṣatriya* in Bali, then it must have resembled Śaivism to a very considerable degree and differed from it just in the addition of a name of Viṣṇu after one for Śiva, or by the substitution of Viṣṇu or Śiva in the mantras.⁶¹

Quite recently Professor Bosch drew attention to the outspoken Agni-Brahmā character ascribed to some OJ kings.⁶² And, though the ritual of the Buddhist brāhman priests of Bali and Lombok, a very small minority, differs from that of their Śaiva counterpart, it is confined to the use of holy water.⁶³ And even though the Bauddha priests have some purely Bauddha *stuti*, not known to the Śaivas,⁶⁴ the majority of these *stutis* have a considerable number of Śaiva admixtures. Some of them make the impression of being purely Śaiva, but are exclusively Bauddha ; others are shared by the Bauddhas and Śaivas ; others again are partly shared but have different words, *pādas* and even *ślokas*, according to whether they are used by the Bauddhas or Śaivas.⁶⁵

The fourth-caste *dukuh* priest, according to information which I had no time to check, should be represented in three varieties : Śaiva, Bauddha and Śaiva-Bauddha. The fourth-caste exorcist priest, *śēnguhu* (from *saṅ guru* ?) or *bhujaṅga*, who labels himself as Vaiṣṇava,⁶⁶ begins his ritual by the Śaiva *Sūrya-sevana* or *karya toya* in order to obtain the holy water he needs :⁶⁷ only after that does he introduce his specific cult-instruments : *vajra-śaṅkha*, *vajra-katipluk*, handdrum etc.⁶⁸ He then concentrates on a three-hundred-line litany, *Pūrva Bhūmi*, which begins with creation and

60. Krom, Coedès, Hall etc. on history of South-East Asia.

61. My 'Preliminary Remarks on Vaiṣṇavism in Bali', forthcoming in *JOI*, Baroda.

62. *De mythische Achtergrond van de Kèn Angrok-Legende* Med. Kon. Ned. Akademie, 1964.

63. Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel, *Fen vorstenwijding op Bali*, Brill, Leiden, 1947.

64. My 'Bauddha Brahmins in Bali', *BSOAS* 26 (1963) 544-50.

65. My 'Buddhism in Bali', forthcoming in *Journal Siam Society*.

66. The ms. *Kirtya* (Singaradja, Bali) 2405, *Ṛṣi Vaiṣṇava* deals with them.

67. Ms. 'Gagèlaran Pūjā n Gède' *Bhujaṅga* (priv. coll.).

68. Tyra de Kleen, *Mudras, the ritual hand-poses of the Buddha priests and the Shiva priests of Bali*, Introduction by A. J. D. Campbell. Kegan Paul, London, 1924; figures 60-62.

the not-doings and doings by Śiva's five sons, *Pañca-rēsi* or *Pañca-Ko(r)sika*, being *Ko(r)sika*, *Metri*, *Garga*, *Puruṣya*, and *Pṛtañja'a*.⁶⁹ They are known to the Śaivas and Bauddhas,⁷⁰ in this island of Bali and Eastern as well as Western parts of Java, in the old document *Carita Parahyaṇan*⁷¹—but who are they? Who are the powers whom the Śaiva priest invokes and prays to, to remain in his immediate neighbourhood during a long and uninterrupted series of *nyāsa* which in the end enables him to unite his own soul with the Śiva-soul?⁷²

Finally it is the fourth-caste temple priest who may welcome you in the precincts confided to his care with the welcoming words borrowed from the Śaiva ritual: *om śreyo bhavatu, om sukham bhavatu, om pūrṇam bhavatu*.⁷³ And it is the whole Balinese village which, under his guidance, on the occasion of the anniversary of the temple's foundation day, invites the God, takes care of the Heavenly Guest with all respect and offers Him spectacles and performances, gives Him a bath and a ride⁷⁴—on an empty palanquin, for no idol is used in ritual.

Things are really more complicated than Lévi had the occasion to observe and widely different from what he wrote. But is it necessary to state this for anybody who ever witnessed a Hindu cremation and read or heard about its Balinese 'counterpart'?⁷⁵ Elaborate care of the dead, certainly pre-Hindu, survives to a certain extent amongst the post-Hindu Javanese, who have been for centuries Muslim.⁷⁶

69. My 'The Balinese Sengguhu priest, A Śāman, but not a Sufi, a Śaiva and a Vaiṣṇava', pp 267-81 in John Bastin & R. Roolvink, *Malayan and Indonesian Studies*, Oxford, 1964.

70. Cf. my *Āgama Tīrtha*, II. Yama-Rāja, the Lord of Judgment, pp. 41-92.

71. Dr. J. H. Noorduyn in *BKI* 118, pp. 406-7.

72. *Āgama Tīrtha*, IV Śiva-Liṅga, E. Liṅgodbhava in Ritual and Syllable, pp. 158-73.

73. Lévi *o.c.*, pp. 8, 11, 11-12.

74. Kusumadēva, Bali Mas, Dēnpasar, Bali.

75. Paul Wirz, *Der Totenkult auf Bali*, Strecker und Schröder, Stuttgart, 1928. K.C. Crucq, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Balisch Doodenritueel*, Ph.D. thesis-Leiden.

Mees, Santpoort, 1928. and Review C. Lekkerkerker in *TNAG* 1928, pp. 906-12.

Goris/Dronkers Bali, *Cults and Customs*, (Djakarta; 1953 ?), Chapter IV.B. 'Cremation'.

76. Not accidentally, for Indonesia studied in several books, most of them Ph.D. theses, hence based on materials already available in abundance in the journals etc. E.g. E. Camerling, *Ueber Ahnenkult in Hinterindien und auf den grossen Sundainseln*, Ph. D. thesis, Rotterdam, 1928.

Crucq mentioned in the preceding note.

Theo Körner, *Totenkult und Lebensglaube bei den Völkern Ost-Indonesiens*, Ph. D. thesis-Leipzig, *Studien zur Völkerkunde* 10, Leipzig, 1936.

Another striking difference between the brāhman priests in India and those in Bali consists in their functioning during rituals.⁷⁷ Witnessing a group of priests in N. W. India, officiating in order to forestall a dreaded calamity, I noticed that they were unshaven and carelessly clad, moving freely and chattering, so that I drew the conclusion that the only thing that mattered was the *vox humana*, reciting the right *mantras* in the right order : it reminded me of the Balinese priest's supplication for forgiveness : *kṣamasva mām, Mahādeva....hīnākṣaram hīna-mantram*.⁷⁸ On the other hand, if anywhere on earth one can meet a priest in the street who unreservedly demonstrates his vocation and impresses by his tenure and attitude, it is in Bali. No wonder, for, his daily work during ritual, after elaborate purification of the body, cult instruments and soul, is the inducing of the Śiva-soul to descend, the subsequent unification of the worshipper with the worshipped God, and the preparation of holy water by Śiva, Who for this visible, material product uses the priest's lips and hands. Such a priest does not chatter and move about ; this receptacle of God is silent and motionless as far as the ritual permits him to be so. And even though Madame Brunner and, still more so, G. C. Diehl, have in their books on South-Indian Śaiva ritual pointed to this *Śivī-karaṇa*, I am inclined to believe that this shamanistic feature in Bali is the quintessence of the South-Indian priest who, above all, remains a worshipper and not so much the God Himself.

When musing about the OJ *caṇḍis* and their shape, Bosch was struck by their following closely the rules set forth in the *śilpa-śāstras* on the one hand, but on the other hand, by their being never copied hide and hair. He thinks it probable that just like the Chinese pilgrims to the Holy Land, of whom we have the memoirs, Javanese students and scholars went to the several universities, *tīrthas* and *āśramas* in India.⁷⁹ He might have added that even now-a-days we find a strong tendency among Hindu

Carla van Wylick, *Bestattungsbrauch und Jenseitsglaube auf Celebes*, Ph.D. thesis-Basel, The Hague 1941 (no publisher mentioned ; perhaps private circulation).

P. Middelkoop, 'Een Studie van het Timoreesche Doodenritueel', *VBG* 76 (1949).

H. J. Sell, *Der schlimme Tod bei den Völkern Indonesiens*, (originally Ph. D. thesis-Frankfurt a.M.), Mouton, The Hague, 1955.

Waldemar Stöhr, *Das Totenritual der Dajak*, (originally Ph.D. thesis-Cologne), *Ethnologica*, Neue Folge, Band I, Brill, Köln, 1950.

77. Clifford Geertz, *The religion of Java*, pp. 71-72.

78. Lévi, o.c., pp. 20-21.

79. 'Local Genius and Old-Javanese Art', *MKNW*, Afd. Lett., NR D1. 15/1, Amsterdam, 1952.

Balinese and Muslim Javanese to visit such holy places⁸⁰ and to establish universities etc., and that since the beginning of statistics, from no Muslim country did such a high percentage of pilgrims go to the holy places of Islam : Mecca with the black stone, Medina with Prophet's grave, Cairo with Al-Azhar, where students stayed on for years.⁸¹ I am inclined to believe that this urge to make the *hajj* is an inheritance from Hinduism, though we may say, that the tendency to visit holy places was tolerated, not frowned upon by Islam.

From the history of art in Europe we are familiar with the idea of the strong influence of one school on that of another country, the young artists and artisans of which travelled on pilgrimage to the other. Transplanting this idea for Indian cultural influences in Java and Bali might be an answer for the question whence these influences have been exercised.

It must have taken generations, if not centuries, before the religion of court priests, court preparers of the superior holy water, to a certain extent of court shamans, first sought after by the minor courts of feudal barons and then by more well-to-do ordinary people, and gradually helped by the influence of overseas students, to become the religion of Java and Bali. No wonder that much, if not most, of the cultural inheritance from the pre-Hindu days crept in, survived, was canonised.

The significance of Greater-Indian studies in Java and Bali, and presumably for the whole world of Greater-India, is this, that a great part of India's past and of its territory are involved, and most of Indonesia, in past and present. The task is enormous, but the work fascinating and rewarding.

80. A feature which Geertz did not deal with, but known to everybody interested.

81. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Gesammelte Schriften* Brill, Leiden, VI, 1927. *Naam-en Zaak-register*, sub-voce *Hadjdj*.

SOME SANSKRIT PLACE-NAMES IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA*

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One of the most remarkable features of the spread of Indian culture in Cambodia at a very early epoch was the introduction of a new vocabulary. The new ideas or even new objects taken by the Indians to ancient Cambodia necessitated the adoption by the Khmer people of a large number of Sanskrit loan-words which used to designate those ideas or objects in their country of origin, viz., India. These Sanskrit loan-words reveal a phase of old Khmer life which was strongly influenced by Indian culture.

A study of the names of localities which are found in the inscriptions written in Sanskrit and in Old Khmer languages gives interesting results. It is noteworthy that a large number of regions, towns, villages, fields, hills and establishments have Sanskrit names. Of these Sanskrit geographical designations one comes across different endings. The most common ending is *-pura*. One can also note other endings such as *-ālaya*, *-āśrama*, *-āvāsa*, *-paṭṭana*, *-deśa* or *-diśa*, *āyatana*, *-niketana*, *-grāma*, *-taṭāka*, *-giri*, *-parvata*, etc. The majority of the Sanskrit place-names are associated with the names of deities, kings, high dignitaries and important personalities.

In some cases several geographical names are based on the same divinity or personality. Thus, we have names which are directly attached to the divinities. Here are some examples: *Śivapura* (K.** 195, 850, 852, 904), *Śivasthāna* (K. 195, 830), *Śivapaṭṭana* (K. 163), *Śivapāda* (K. 216), *Śivāspada* (K. 195), *Śivāspada* (K. 254), *Īśvarapura* (K. 474, 475), *Īśvarapada* (K. 175), *Maheśvarālaya* (K. 467), *Śarvapura* (K. 904), *Śarvāśrama* (K. 904), *Svayambhūapura* (K. 580), *Hariharālaya* (K. 293, 848, 933), *Śakrālaya* (K. 904), *Viṣṇupura* (K. 183, 420), *Viṣṇupada* (K. 292), *Viṣṇugrāma*, written as *Viṣṇugrāmma* (K. 521), *Siddhiparvata* (K. 420), *Siddhipura* (K. 702), *Siddhāyatana* (Sdok Kak Thom Inscription).

* A paper read at the Greater Indian Studies Section of the 22nd All-India Oriental Conference, Gauhati, 1965.

** K refers to the *Liste Générale des Inscriptions et des Monuments* compiled by G Coedès and H. Parmentier, 1923.

There are quite a large number of geographical names which are connected with the names of great kings of ancient Cambodia or important personalities. Thus, we have place-names associated with Yaśovarman: *Yaśodharapura* (K. 380, 523), *Yaśodharagiri* (K. 382), *Yaśodharaparvata* (K. 187). The names *Rājendrapura* (K. 208, 586) and *Rājendraśrama* (K. 216) recall the name of king Rājendravarman. *Bhavapura* (K. 89, 253) and *Bhavasthāna* (K. 89) may be connected with king Bhavavarman. Other examples of this type are *Indrapura* (K. 105), *Īśānapada* (K. 192), *Śreṣṭhapura* (K. 143, 713, 944), *Śreṣṭhanivāsa* (K. 457), *Sūryaparvata* (K. 34), *Bhīmapura* (K. 186), *Lakṣmīndrapada* (K. 702) and *Rudāśrama* (K. 152).

An interesting characteristic offered by the Sanskrit place-names in Cambodia is that purely Indian geographical names are common-place. Then again, these place-names occur mostly in their original form. This transplantation of Indian geographical names is quite natural since the Indian settlers who came from India to this distant land of Cambodia and who in course of time, made Cambodia their new home, preferred to bring with them in this foreign land the names with which they were already familiar. We come across the same phenomenon in another country of South-East Asia, *viz.*, Indonesia, which too was strongly influenced by Indian culture. In recent times, we have a similar example in the transplantation of European place-names in America. Several of these Indian geographical names found in Cambodia are quite well known in ancient India. Thus, we have names such as *Madhyadeśa*, *Āryadeśa*, *Purvadeśa*, *Nāgapaṭṭana*, *Āṅga*, *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, *Mālava*, *Janapada*, *Kurukṣetra*, *Kuśasthali*, *Gaṅgā*, *Puruṣapura*, *Devasabhā* and *Vikramapura*.

It may be pointed out that the name *Madhyadeśa* ('Middle Country') was widely prevalent that sometimes it is difficult to determine whether it refers to the well-known region in India or to a region of the same name in ancient Cambodia. *Madhyadeśa* occurs in the Khmer inscription of Prasat Prah Khset (K. 237) which dates from 1067 A. D. In lines 3 and 8 of this inscription we are told that Saṅkarṣa who was a nephew of the king Udayādityavarman II and who was the restorer of the *linga* and the founder of images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Buddha, bore the title *Kamraten Madhyadeśa*.¹ In verse 3 of the Sanskrit stèle of Western Baray, (K. 904) (dated 713 A. D.), Śakrasvāmin is called *Madhyadeśajaḥ* ('born in Madhyadeśa').² From the Sanskrit inscription of Phnom Prah Net Prah

1. *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, ed. G. Coedès, vol. VI, p. 294.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 58.

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(K. 216), (dated A.D. 1006) we come to know (verse 2), that a lady named *Madhyadeśa* was in the service of the royal palace.³

Āryadeśa of the Cambodian inscriptions may be the same as *Āryāvarta* of Sanskrit literature. The Sanskrit stèle of Kapilapura, also called "Stèle of Añkor Vat", (K. 300) tells us (line 9) of a Brāhmaṇa named Sarvajñamuni who was 'born in *Āryadeśa* and who had come on account of piety to this country of Kambu' (i.e., Cambodia).⁴ In the stèle of Prah Bat, no. XLIV, we come across a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Agastya, a connoisseur of the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas, who hailed from *Āryadeśa*.⁵ In the above two cases, *Āryadeśa* seems to stand for India proper.

Pūrvadeśa, which is frequently met with in Cambodian inscriptions, might have corresponded to the division of the same name mentioned in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara. The Khmer portion of the famous Sdok Kak Thom inscription refers (line 64) to a district called *Pūrvadiśa* (*viṣaya pūrvadiśa*) during the reign of Jayavarman II.⁶ This district was situated to the east of Añkor. The Khmer stèle of Kok Rosei (K. 175) mentions (lines 6-7) the eastern district of *Pūrvadiśa* during the reign of Jayavarman V.⁷ In lines 5-6 of the Khmer inscription of the pillar of Prasat Kuk Pradak (K. 878), (dated 898 A.D.) we have the reference to *pramāṇ pūrvvadiśa* ('territory of *Pūrvadiśa*').⁸

In *Nāgapaṭṭana*, it is well known, a Buddhist vihāra was constructed by a Sailendra king during the reign of Rājārāja Cola. The Khmer stèle of Tu'k Cum (238), (dated A.D. 949) refers (lines A 7-10) to the country of *Nāgapaṭṭana* (*sruk nāgapaṭṭana*).⁹ The name of *Āṅga*, the great kingdom in Eastern Bihar, also finds mention in a Cambodian inscription. The Khmer inscription of Vat Damnak (K. 420) belonging to the reign of Sūryavarman I gives the expression (line 4) *camnat āṅga* ('establishment of *Āṅga*').¹⁰

Dakṣiṇāpatha finds mention in the Sanskrit inscription of Sambor-Prei Kuk (K. 438), (verse 3), of the reign of Īśānavarman I. (Cf. *dakṣiṇāpathajanmā*, i.e., 'born in the *Dakṣiṇāpatha*').¹¹ The Sanskrit inscription of Tuol An Srah That (K. 910) tells us (line 2) of the foundation of a

3. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 41.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 255.

5. *Inscriptions sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge*, ed. Bergaigne, p. 364.

6. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. XLIII, p. 87.

7. *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. VI, p. 176.

8. *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 89.

9. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 120.

10. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 161.

11. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 27.

linga in A.D. 651 by a Brāhmaṇa of Mālava named Ananta (*dvijas sa mālavo*).¹² So far as the term *Janapada* is concerned, the Sdok Kak Thom inscription mentions this place-name as the original home of a Brāhmaṇa called Hiranyadāma who came to the court of King Jayavarman II and who brought with him some Tantrik texts. *Janapada* meant the most important territorial unit of ancient India since the days of the Pali canon and the Epics. At one time it was believed that *Janapada* mentioned in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription was some place in India.¹³ A study of an inscription bears out that *Janapada* can also be a Cambodian place-name. In other words, *Janapada* might have been a place situated in Cambodia.¹⁴

Possibly the best example of the transplantation of Indian place-names in ancient Cambodia is furnished by a Sanskrit verse found in the middle of an inscription written in Old Khmer language. The verse tells us that "the village named Vibheda was given by the King of Kings Śrī Sūryavarman to Sukarman who came from Kurukṣetra, and that because of this (the village) was called *Kurukṣetra*."¹⁵ It is well known that in India Kurukṣetra designated the country to the south of the Sarasvatī and to the north of the Drṣadvatī, the Karnal-Ambalā region of the Eastern Panjab. The Stèle of Vat Ph'ū (K. 365) tells us that the name Kurukṣetra had been given to the region situated to the east of Vat Ph'ū, on the banks of the Mekong.¹⁶ From verse LVI of the Sanskrit stèle of Prasat Tor (dated A.D. 1189) we come to know that *Kuśasthali* was a locality in the neighbourhood of Vat Ph'ū.¹⁷

Curiously enough *Gaṅgā* is often applied to the name of a village in ancient Cambodia. Thus, the Khmer inscription of Prasat Khlan (K. 467) mentions *sruk gaṅgā*, i.e., 'Gaṅgā village'.¹⁸ In the Khmer stèle of Tuol Prasat (K. 158) dated A.D. 1003, the limit of the area of a village extended in the west upto the Gaṅgā.¹⁹ According to the verse CCLXXIII of the stèle of Pre Rup, the Vaiṣṇavite sanctuary of Campeśvara was situated on the bank of the *Gaṅgā* which is also called Tripathā and Viṣṇupadī.²⁰ The country of Puruṣapura (*sruk puruṣapura*) finds

12. *Ibid.*, vol V, p. 39.

13. P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, pt. I, 1939, pp. 2, 18.

14. G. Coedès 'Le site de Janapada d'après une inscription de Prasat Khlan', *Bull. tin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. XLIII, p. 9.

15. Inscription of Prah Vihar (K. 380); *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. VI, p. 261.

16. *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 9.

17. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 228.

18. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 218, line 22.

19. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 103, line 31.

20. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 102.

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mention in the Pillar inscription of Phum Mien (K. 105), (lines 11 and 12).²¹ It is quite plausible that this place-name was derived from the famous Indian city of that name in ancient Gandhāra. *Devasabhā* which stands for modern Dewas and which has been described by the *Kavyamīmāṃsā* as the eastern limit of Western India, found its way in ancient Cambodia. The Khmer inscription of Vat Kdei Trap (K. 51) (belonging to the 7th century A.D.) mentions (line 13) a plantation in *Devasabhā* (*damvriñ ai devasabhā*).²² In the Khmer stèle of Phum Kor (K. 100) of the 10th century A.D. we get (line 1) a reference to the paddy field of the *Vikramapura* (*sre vikramapura*).²³ The Khmer inscription of Vat Tnot (K. 38) mentions *Vikramapura* as the name of a city.²⁴ It may be pointed out here that *vikramapura-bhāga* was a well-known subdivision of ancient Vāṅga territory.

A study of these Indian place-names in ancient Cambodia clearly shows that most of them have their counterparts in North India. This fact may indicate the possibility of North India being the source of the expansion of Indian culture in Cambodia. But this question requires further investigation.

Although the ancient Khmer people borrowed a major part of their geographical vocabulary from Sanskrit, it is evident that there was latterly a tendency to replace these Sanskrit place-names by Khmer words. In this process one can detect two stages. In the first place, several geographical names occur in the Khmer form, but are obvious translations of Sanskrit names into the Khmer language. Thus we have names like *Travāṇ Brāhmaṇa* ('pond of the Brāhmaṇas'), *Ralam Vakula* ('Vakula ground') (K. 352), *Vihār Run* ('wide vihāra'), *Vrai Kapāla* ('Kapāla forest'), *Vnam Pūrva* ('eastern hill'), *Stuk R̥ṣi* ('R̥ṣi lake'), *Svāy Pañcaka* ('Pañcaka mango') and *Travāṇ Vanik* ('pond of the merchant') (K. 263). One may consider these as hybrid compounds. In the second stage, we have another set of names such as *Bakulatthala*=*Gok Vakula* (Old Khmer language) ('bakula mound') (K. 754), *Nadyagga*=*Cun Chdin* (Old Khmer language) ('extremity of river') (K. 754), *Pr̥thusaīla* (Skt.)=*Vnam Ruñ* (Old Khmer language) (K. 254), *Vamśahrada* (Skt.)=*Stuk Ransi* (Old Khmer language) ('bamboo lake') (K. 192), *Vamśārāma* (Skt.)=*Chpar Ransi*

21. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 184.

22. *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 15.

23. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 214.

24. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 46, line 11.

(Old Khmer language) ('bamboo grove') (K. 254), *Adripada* (Skt.)=*Vnam Jen* (Old Khmer language) ('foot-hill'), *Veluvana* (Skt.)=*Chpar Ransi* (Old Khmer language) ('bamboo grove') (K. 249), *Devasaridbhanga* (Skt.)=*Vrah Thnal* (Old Khmer language) (K. 258, B. 66), *Tatakacarana* (Skt.)=*Jan Vrah Travān* (Old Khmer language) (K. 258, B. 49). All these Sanskrit place-names have got an equivalent which is in pure Old Khmer language. In these cases the Khmerisation of Sanskrit place-names is almost complete.

From the semantical point of view, a few Sanskrit place-names seem to have strange forms: e.g., *Kṛtajñavana* (K. 124), *Nirvāṇa* (K. 54), *Kāmadhenu* (K. 292), *Vibheda* (K. 380). They evoke certain associations which cannot be traced easily and are, therefore, to be gone into further.

OBITUARY NOTICES

PROF. MARIO VALLAURI

(1887—1964)

Mario Vallauri, Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit at the Turin University, passed away suddenly on September 19, 1964 at Dronero (Cuneo). His passing entails the deprival of one of the active and illustrious representatives of Indological studies in Italy.

Born at Viareggio (Lucca) on July 31, 1887, of an old Piedmontese family, Vallauri started his studies in Sanskrit in Naples under Michele Kerbaker. Later, he took an advanced course in Sanskrit at the R. Istituto di Studi Superiori in Florence under P.E. Pavolini. During 1913 and 1914, he studied under J. Jolly at the Würzburg University, when he produced, in collaboration with his teacher, a partial translation of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, which was to be the pattern for all his future publications.

In July 1922, Vallauri gained his *Libera Docenze* in Sanskrit in the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy at the Turin University, where he held courses in Sanskrit during 1922-24. From 1924 to 1931 he was University Lecturer in Sanskrit at Turin, when he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit, which post he continued to hold till he retired in 1957. In 1942 he was made a Resident National Member of the Turin Academy of Sciences and was the Director of this Academy's Class of Moral, Historical and Philological Sciences from December 5, 1961 to June 23, 1964. He was also the President of the Piedmont Branch of IsMEO from the year of its foundation in 1957 till his demise.

The extensive researches of Vallauri into Indian medicine began with Jolly at Würzburg, and ranged from the fundamentals of anatomy and somatology to pathology, toxicology and therapeutics. He was interested in Indian architecture and, to some extent, also in the political and juridical techniques current in Ancient India. His main interest, however, was in Purāṇa studies and the theatre, on both of which he wrote extensively. His analysis of the *Narasimhapurāṇa*, articles on the contribution of the Purāṇas to *nīti-śāstra* and on the composition of the individual Purāṇas according to the *Naradapurāṇa*, and the chapter-wise summary of the voluminous *Skandapurāṇa*, the last unfinished, form part of his work on the Purāṇas.

His *Teatro Indiano* contains some of the best Italian translations of Indian plays, all provided with introductions marked by rare taste and clarity; to these, Vallauri added his own exquisite translation of the *Mudrārākṣasa*. The unexpected end of Vallauri came while he, with undiminished vigour, was engaged on the translation of *Amrtodaya*, an allegorical play by Gokulanātha Śarman, on which he had almost finished a critical-exegetical study.

Prof. Vallauri was a man of firm and steady character, of inflexible rectitude, demanding towards himself but understanding towards others, an enemy of all deceit, and richly endowed with a characteristic warmth of heart. His exemplary, lively and effective method of teaching, and his gentlemanly courtesy towards those seeking his help and advice were unique. For his immediate disciples, including the present writer, he provided a living example of what genuine and dispassionate devotion to academic study ought to be.

OSCAR BOTTO

DR. BIRINCHI KUMAR BARUA
(1910-1964)

Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua, Professor of Assamese and ex-Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Gauhati University, a historian, litterateur, scholar, educationist and teacher died on the 30th of March, 1964.

After a brilliant collegiate career, young Barua took his M.A. Degree in Pali from Calcutta University in 1934, securing the first position in the First Class. He was also a law graduate of that University. He took his Ph.D. Degree from the University of London in 1947, his dissertation having been published later as *A Cultural History of Assam*, Vol. I.

After his M.A. in Pali, Dr. Barua began as a Lecturer in the University of Calcutta, and then joined the Cotton College, Gauhati, as a Lecturer in Assamese in 1938. Dr. Barua, who participated actively in the movement for the establishment of a University in Assam launched under the able leadership of the late Gopinath Bardoloi in 1944, joined the University as Reader in Assamese in 1948, the year the University was established. Since then he devoted himself heart and soul to the profession of teaching till his demise. He became Professor of Assamese and Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University after the death of the great savant, Dr. Banikanta Kakati, who held both these offices.

His *Asamīya Bhāṣa* (1949) and *Asamīya Bhāṣa āru Samiskṛti* (1957) are two valuable books devoted to the study of the Assamese language on

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a scientific basis. In his *Asamar Lokasamskṛti* (1961) and its English version, yet to be published, he attempted a detailed study of the folk-culture of Assam. His *Assamese Literature* (P.E.N., 1941), *Asamiyā Kathāsahitya*, (1950), *Study on Early Assamese Literature* and *Modern Assamese Literature* (1957) deal with old and modern Assamese literature. Another book, *Śaṅkaradeva: Vaiṣṇava Saint of Assam* (1960) deals with the genius of the saint-poet Śaṅkaradeva. Still another work of his, entitled *Assamese Literature* is to be issued shortly by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. His *Early Geography of Assam* (1950) is an authoritative work on the subject.

Besides these, he edited a number of old Assamese classics, including *Ankiyā Nāṭ* of Śaṅkaradeva, *Mādhavadeva* and *Gopaladeva*, *Adbhuta-rāmāyaṇa* and *Śatruñjaya* of Raghunātha Mahanta, and *Vabruvāhanar Yuddha aru Tāmradhvajar Yuddha* (edited in collaboration with Dr. Maheswar Neog), etc.

Professor Barua was a sincere and enthusiastic worker and has contributed to Assam and its people something that they can be proud of. The death of this versatile scholar and illustrious son of Assam has left a void that will perhaps take years to fill.

MAHESWAR NEOG

DR. SURYYA KUMAR BHUYAN

(1894-1964)

Dr. Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, an eminent historian, poet, educationist, and administrator, a contributor of original historical papers, an author of literary and historical works and an editor and translator of great repute, passed away on the 5th July, 1964.

A student and teacher of English literature, Dr. Bhuyan showed an irresistible zeal for research in the history of Assam. In 1936 he left for England where he worked under Professor H. H. Dodwell of the London School of Oriental Studies, University of London, and got the Ph.D. degree on his thesis, entitled *Anglo-Assamese Relations (1771-1826)*. Later in 1951 he was awarded the D. Litt. degree by the same University.

During his varied official career Dr. Bhuyan served also as the Honorary Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies (1947), and as the Director of Public Instruction (1947-49). He was later appointed whole-time Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in which capacity he served till 1957. Dr. Bhuyan was eminently suited for the job

as he was the leading authority in Assamese history. In 1957 he was unanimously elected as the Vice-Chancellor of the Gauhati University.

Dr. Bhuyan was a prolific writer producing both literary and historical works. His *Studies in the Literature of Assam* (1956) is a combination of his two earlier books dealing with the ancient and modern Assamese literature. His outstanding contribution to folklore study is the *Barphukanar Git* (1926). Among his well-written biographies of great men and women of Assam as well as India, mention may be made of such books as *Ānundoram Borooāh* (1920), *Gopalkrishna Gokhale* (1916), *Rabindranath Tagore* (1920), *Cāneki* (1928), *Jonāki* (1921), *Asam Jiyarī* (1935), *Ramanī Gabharu* (1951), *An Assamese Nurjāhān* (1926) and *Harihar Ātā* (1960), the last being the life-sketch of a Vaiṣṇava and devoted follower of Mahāpuruṣa Mādhavadeva.

His historical works deal mainly with the history of Assam during the Ahom rule, and may be classified into two groups—original and edited. Among his original historical works in both English and Assamese are such outstanding books as *Early British Relations with Assam* (1928), *Tuṅghuṅgiyā Burañjī* (1933), *Atan Buragohain and His Times* (1957), *Anglo-Assamese Relations (1771-1826)* (1949), and *Swargadeo Rājeśwar Singha*. His *Kōwar-vidroh* (1948) and *Burañjīr Vāṇi* (1951) are two rich collections of historical essays. Among works edited by him mention may be made of *Āsām Burañjī* (1930), *Kāmarūpar Burañjī* (1930), *Deodhāi Āsām Burañjī* (1930), *Āsamar Padya Burañjī* (1933), *Jayantiyā Burañjī* (1937), *Tripurā Burañjī* (1938) and *Sātsarī Āsām Burañjī* (1960). Each of these books contains a critical synopsis of the contents with amplifications from other available sources as well as an examination of their historical and literary value.

A man for whom work, whether little or great, was everything, Dr. Bhuyan has left behind him, for the emulation of the young generation, a living memory of an adage frequently quoted by him : "A little thing is a little thing, but faithfulness to a little thing is a great thing."

MAHESHWAR NEOG

LITERARY REVIEWS

VAIDIKA-SVARA-SAMIKṢĀ (Hindi) by Pt. Amarnath Shastri, Vyākaraṇachārya. Rishikula Vidyapeeth, Haridwar, 1964. Pp. 190. Rs. 10/-

The book under review is a welcome addition to the scanty literature on the study of Vedic accent. Pt. Amarnath Shastri who is an erudite scholar of Pāṇinian grammar has based his treatise mainly on the *sūtras* of Pāṇini but has derived complementary information from the *Prātiśākyas*.

The First Chapter of the book is introductory in nature and the next three Chapters are devoted to the discussion of ancillary matters, such as *Samhitā-pāṭha*, *Pada-pāṭha* and *Gati* (prepositions). Chapter V deals with the accent of vocatives (*Āmantrita-svara*), giving examples from various Vedic texts. Chapter VI describes in brief the methods of marking the accents in the different Vedic texts. Chapter VII sums up the rules of *Ekāśruti* with illustrations from the *R̥gveda*. Chapter VIII discusses the position of *Udatta* in finite verbs, participles, prepositions, nominal stems, declension and compounds. Some of the sub-titles, such as *Adyudatta-svara*, *Dvi-udatta-svara*, *Tri-udatta-svara*, etc., employed by the learned author in Chapter VIII do not sound quite logical. In Chapter IX, the author enumerates such suffixes and words as are declared to be enclitic (*Anudatta*) by Pāṇini. Different varieties of *Svarita* are discussed at length in Chapter X. The book is a learned production and will contribute to the understanding of the Vedic accent.

RAM GOPAL

SĀMAVIDHĀNA BRĀHMAṆA with the commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Bharatasvāmin, Ed. Dr. B. R. Sharma. Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Tirupati, 1964. Pp. xvii, 316. Rs. 15/-.

The present critical edition of the *Samavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* together with the *Vedārthaprakāśa* of Sāyaṇa and the *Padārthamātravivṛti* of Bharatasvāmin is the first publication of the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha of Tirupati. This *Brāhmaṇa* which belongs to the *Samaveda* was first published together with Sāyaṇa's commentary in Roman script by A. C. Burnell in 1873. A second edition with the same commentary in Devanagari script was published by Satyavrata Samasramin at Calcutta in 1895. Both

these editions were long out of print, and so a new Devanagari edition was a necessity. A reprint of one of these two editions would hardly have served the purpose, because Burnell's edition suffered from a number of mistakes and wrong readings while the Calcutta edition could hardly be called critical. The editor of the present edition, Dr. B. R. Sharma, therefore, did the right thing in taking the occasion to prepare a critical edition of the text.

Dr. Sharma has not only revised the text and Sāyaṇa's commentary, but has also published for the first time the critically edited text of Bharatasvāmin's commentary on this Brāhmaṇa. He has added critical notes discussing the text of both the commentaries, and also some useful Appendices and Indices. In Appendix 'A' he has given an alphabetical register of verses occurring in the Brāhmaṇa together with the references to the *Gānas* of the *Sāmaveda* and their technical terms. Appendix 'B' is an index of the *Gānas* referred to in the Brāhmaṇa. Appendix 'C' contains the quotations from other works occurring in the Brāhmaṇa as also in the commentaries. These have been traced to the original sources as far as possible. Appendix 'D' is a glossary of the technical words occurring in the commentaries. Lastly, there is an Index of words including those occurring as the second member of compounds.

The text of the Brāhmaṇa is based on five manuscripts, all written in Grantha script. For the text of Sāyaṇa's commentary, Dr. Sharma has consulted two manuscripts besides the printed editions. His text of Bharatasvāmin's commentary is based on two manuscripts procured from Darbhanga and Alwar. The Brāhmaṇa text as found in the manuscripts is more or less identical, but the commentaries disclose a few instances where a word or a phrase is omitted and also reveal different readings in a few places. In certain places, where the manuscripts of the text give defective or incomplete readings, the editor has suggested emendations to the text. A faultless text could be expected only when manuscripts of the text collected from different regions become available. Certain *Gānas* mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa cannot be traced to the Kauthuma recension. As the editor has stated, they are likely to have been borrowed from some other recension. The Mss. of the text of Bharatasvāmin's commentary is defective at some places. The editor has tried to emend the passages as far as possible and has also discussed such defective readings in his critical notes. Sāyaṇa's commentary is, of course, helpful in understanding the text. But, as the editor has pointed out, Sāyaṇa has derived much help from older commentators; particularly in the case of the commentary on the *Sāmaveda* he has often copied Bharatasvāmin.

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Even a casual comparison would show that Bharatasvāmin's commentary on this Brāhmaṇa is more helpful than that of Sāyaṇa in understanding the text.

Even though the present work is called a *Brahmaṇa*, it bears the character of a *Sūtra*. While the editor has assigned the present work to the later *Sūtra* period, Dr. Raghavan in his Foreword to the book says that "We may look at the latter (=lesser Brāhmaṇas) as marking a specific phase between the major Brāhmaṇas and the actual Kalpa *Sūtras*" (p. 3). Even though the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa*, in its present form, bears the character of a *Sūtra* and belongs to the *Sūtra* period (not necessarily 'later') we have to assume that the employment of the chanting of the *Sāmaganas* towards a variety of purposes, as we find in this Brāhmaṇa, must have been a very old practice. The chanting of *Sāmans* is mostly confined to the *Soma* sacrifices. The fact that many a *Soma* sacrifice owes its distinction to the chanting of particular *Sāmans* indicates the important role played by the *Sāmans* in Vedic sacrificial rituals. Since the ritualistic religion could not be and was not universally practised in Vedic and post-Vedic India, it was quite natural that the chanting of *Sāmans*, whose magical effect is manifest even in the sacrificial rituals, was employed even for non-ritualistic purposes.

According to tradition, the *Sāmavidhāna* is the third Brāhmaṇa belonging to the *Sāmaveda*, the first two being the *Tāṇḍya* and *Ṣaḍvīmśa*. Sāyaṇa has mentioned this fact in his introductory verses, and in his colophon of each section he says *sāmavidhānākhye tṛtīya-brāhmaṇe*. As regards the division of the text, even though Sāyaṇa and Bharatasvāmin have followed somewhat identical enumeration, the terms used by them are different. While Sāyaṇa divides the text into three *adhyāyas* and each *adhyāya* into several *khaṇḍas*, Bharatasvāmin divides it into three *prapāṭhakas* and each *prapāṭhaka* into several *anuvākas*. The third sub-division of Bharatasvāmin is different from that of Sāyaṇa. The editor has given the third sub-division probably intended by Sāyaṇa in English figures at the beginning of that sub-section, while the sub-section meant by Bharatasvāmin is shown in Devanagari figures at the end of the relevant sub-section. Thus, while according to Sāyaṇa the first *khaṇḍa* of the first *adhyāya* consists of eighteen sub-sections, according to Bharatasvāmin, the first *anuvāka* (which is equivalent to Sāyaṇa's *khaṇḍa*) of the first *prapāṭhaka* consists of only seven sub-sections. So, this two-fold enumeration of the third sub-division presents some difficulty in recording the references on the page-heading. Dr. Sharma has preferred the

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Prapāṭhaka division and has given in brackets the number of the *anuvaka*. It would have been better, had he shown on pages of both the sides the figures of the *adhyāya* (= *prapāṭhaka*) and the *khaṇḍa* (= *anuvaka*) and also the figure of the sub-section given by Sāyaṇa. These figures are generally used for the purpose of reference ; in fact, Dr. Sharma himself has used the system.

In order to facilitate easy understanding, Dr. Sharma has used signs of punctuation at certain places. At many places, however, where such signs are expected, one does not find them. For the *anunāsika*, the sign generally used in the Taittiriya recension is used here. In the works belonging to the Kauthuma Śākha, however, one meets with a different sign.

At the end of the commentary on I. ii. 1 Bharatasvāmin says : *athava cā'pūta ity uktam parāmṛśyate uktād yajñakalpād anantaram iti*. Dr. Raghavan in his Foreword has suggested that one should read instead *atha vācā apūta ity uktam* etc, "for it is the significance of the word अथ (then) in I. ii. 1 that is discussed here" (p. 2). I think that the printed text does not call for any emendation. The sūtra reads : *athā'tas trīn kṛchhrān vyākhyāsyamah*. The commentator has first explained the word *atha* to mean 'after the expounding of the sacrifices' (I. i. 15). Then, as an optional explanation, he says, 'or (the word *atha*) refers to what is stated in the passage beginning with *cā'pūta* (I. i. 17), that is to say, 'after having laid down the substitutes for the sacrifice'.

The book is well printed. Printing mistakes are recorded in the *Errata*, but there are mistakes which have not been recorded therein.

Dr. Sharma deserves to be congratulated for the pains he has taken in making available this work to those interested in the study of Vedic literature.

C. G. KASHIKAR

BĀṆA By R. D. Karmarkar, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1964.
Pp. x, 118. (*Extension Lecture Series*—6). Rs. 3/-.

The work under review contains four Extension Lectures, delivered under the auspices of the University of Dharwar, on the life and work of the famous Sanskrit prose writer Bāṇa, the court-pandit of Harṣa-vardhana.

In the First Lecture the author has dealt with the date, life and minor works of Bāṇa. The treatment of the date is shabby and even disappointing.

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The topic has been discussed with far greater success by previous writers like P. V. Kane, S. K. De and others. The author is completely unaware of the epigraphic evidence as also of the references by the other Sanskrit writers like Vāmana, Ānandavardhana, Dhanapāla, Dhanañjaya etc., and makes bold to assert that it has been possible to fix Bāṇa's date only because of the writings of the Chinese pilgrims Hiuen-Tsang and It-sing whose ambiguous accounts he quotes, but leaves out of reference the inscriptions of the Cālukyas of Vātāpi (pp. 1-2). While giving an account of Bāṇa's life, he does not mention the name of the poet's revered teacher, to whom Bāṇa has paid a tribute in the opening verses of the *Kādambarī*. Again, he falls into an error while mentioning the original home of Bāṇa's family. According to him Prītikuṭa, Bāṇa's ancestral home was situated in the Kanyakubja region (p. 2) whereas Bāṇa himself tells us that it lay on the bank of the Hiraṇyavāha or Śoṇa river and it is a matter of common knowledge that this river is modern Sone which, after flowing through the Madhya Pradesh and Southern Bihar, joins the Ganges near Patna.

While speaking of the minor writings of Bāṇa, Prof. Karmarkar has endeavoured to disprove the accepted view that the *Parvatīpariṇaya* is not a work of the famous Bāṇa but of a later namesake Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa. But the attempt (pp. 18-21) is too desperate and all the pains taken by him do not seem to be of any avail. The borrowing from Kālidāsa is patently obvious both as regards ideas and expressions as well as the plot, which is, from the beginning to the end, woven round the incidents of the *Kumārasambhava*. The visit of Nārada to the Himālayas, the anxiety of Indra to obtain for the divine armies a leader born of the god Śiva, the burning of Cupid, the austerities of Umā, the appearance of Śiva disguised as a Brahmacārin to dissuade Umā from her resolve and his invective against Śiva, even the remark of Pārvatī that it is sinful to listen to the disparaging remarks about the great, are all borrowed from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*. Whatever might have been Bāṇa's admiration for Kālidāsa, we cannot expect him to borrow so shamelessly. Moreover, has not Bāṇa himself censured vehemently such a course? Bāṇa says :

अन्यवर्णपरावृत्त्या बन्धचिह्ननिगूहनैः ।

अनाख्यातः सतां मध्ये कविश्चोरो विभाव्यते ॥

In the Second Lecture, the contents of the *Harṣacarita* have been summarised and a few remarks added. Here again, the author makes a startling statement when he says that works like the *Rājataranginī* are not particularly helpful for historical information (p. 45). Whatever might be said about the historical writing in ancient India, the *Rājataranginī* certainly

gives a very reliable historical account of Kashmir from the early seventh century A. D. to the middle of the twelfth. The Third Lecture gives a summary of the prose romance *Kādambarī* together with Peterson's opinion about it.

The Fourth and the last Lecture deals with Bāṇa's style etc. The last section of this lecture covering some three and a half pages is devoted to an account of the religious and social customs. We regret to remark that not only is there no freshness about the treatment of this interesting topic, but it also rather looks insipid in comparison with the treatment by earlier writers. In the appendices the author has given extracts from the two major works of Bāṇa, which serve as good illustrations of his style.

J. N. AGRAWAL

CAṆAKYA-SAPTATI Ed. by K. V. Sarma, V. V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1965. (*Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*, No. 32). Pp. 32. Rs. 4/-.

The apophthegms inculcating worldly wisdom, attributed to Caṇakya, who is said to have set Candragupta on the throne and to have guided his administration as minister, are very popular in India. This is attested by the fact that there are several collections of apophthegms current in India known as *Caṇakya-rājanīti-sāstra*, *Caṇakya-nīti-darpana*, etc., each of which has many recensions. In his recent researches Dr. Ludwik Sternbach has endeavoured to show that the number of such collections is not seventeen, as was once believed, but only six, the shortest containing from 83 to 97 *śloka*s and the longest from 258 to 653.

The *Caṇakya-saptati* edited by Sri K. V. Sarma is a collection of 70 stanzas and is quite different from the six collections edited by Dr. Sternbach in *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*, No. 28. As pointed out by the editor, 9 out of the 70 stanzas are found only in this collection.

The editor has done his work well, and indicated, in connection with each *pāda* of the seventy *śloka*s, where, if at all, it occurs in the six collections referred to above and if they have the same reading or not.

The edition is based on a single manuscript and this fact detracts somewhat from the value of the edition.

The book is a useful contribution to the Caṇakya-nīti literature.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

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THE MAHIMNASTAVA OR PRAISE OF SHIVA'S GREATNESS, Edited, Translated and Presented in illustrations by W. Norman Brown. American Institute of Indian Studies, Poona-6, 1964. Pp. x, 81. Rs. 5/-.

The *Stotra*-literature of Hinduism is vast, perhaps more vast than in most other world religions. It may be that, to a large extent, the *stotras* are, perforce, stereotyped, but there are many which are really beautiful poetry, characterised by vivid imagery, imaginative conception of the deities praised and depth and sincerity of devotion. One such is the *Mahimnastava*, presented here in a critical edition and which, in 31 stanzas, forms an exquisite hymn on Śiva, one of the Hindu Trinity. Composed in the form of a prayer uttered by Puṣpadanta, a gandharva-attendant of God Śiva, the real author of the work has not been identified; the ascription to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Grahila lack confirmation. The latest date for its composition (9th cent. A.D.) is supplied by its being quoted by the Kashmirian logician Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.

The work has been popular and edited many times, with or without commentary, the best-known exposition being that of Madhusudana Sarasvatī. The present publication is its first critical edition and is unique in that the text, as edited here, is based primarily on a Stone Inscription dated A.D. 1030 (or 1130) in the Amareśvara Temple at Mandhātā on the Narmada river and older than all known manuscripts of the work. Besides the above-said inscription, 10 manuscripts and 3 editions have been used for fixing the text. The variant readings, however, are few, indicating a uniformity of descent and intactness in the preservation of the text. The real variation lies in the occurrence, in some of the manuscripts, of a few extra stanzas, some of which are of the nature of *phalaśruti*.

Besides an informative Introduction and a readable Translation, the editor has reproduced, at the end of the edition, in the form of plates, a complete illustrated manuscript of the work, of c. 1600-25, with a miniature painting for each stanza. The ample annotations provided by the editor for these paintings which belong to the Early Western Style influenced by Rajput elements, supplements his similar treatment of Indian miniatures in two of his earlier publications, the *Saundaryalaharī* and the *Vasanta-vilāsa* (*Harvard Or. Ser.*, 43 and 46) and are bound to be extremely useful to students of Indian art.

Well-printed and exquisitely produced this first production of the recently started (Feb., 1964) American Institute of Indian Studies augurs well for the research and publication activities of the Institute.

K. V. SARMA

INDIA AND THE WORLD By Dr. Buddha Prakash. V. V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1965. (*Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*, No. 31). Pp. xii, 292. Rs. 20/-.

This is a learned work by Dr. Buddha Prakash, dealing with the expansion of Indian culture throughout the world. In the introductory chapter the author has very succinctly described the radical difference in the methods of colonisation adopted by the Chinese and the Hindus. "The Chinese," he says, "proceeded with conquest and by annexation: the armies occupied the lands and the officials spread the Chinese civilization. The Hindu penetration and infiltration seem to have almost always been peaceful and unaccompanied by those destructions which disgrace the Mongol cavalcade or the Spanish conquest of America." The only record of the use of military force for conquest is that of the Colas against the kingdom of Śrīvijaya, but that was due to the expansionist policy and the piratical methods adopted by the latter. The author has described in detail the remnants of Indian culture in such countries of South-east Asia as Java and Cambodia, Central Asia, China and Japan. In a later chapter it is shown how Indian religion and culture travelled to the West, to the Red Sea regions, to Rome, and even to distant Scandinavia.

In the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the different Purāṇas and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya we get references to several *dvīpas* and *deśas* (countries) which, in the absence of definite information, are generally regarded as fabulous. The author has laboriously collected much material bearing on the identification of these countries and places, discussed various views held by other scholars and given his own conclusions. Thus he identifies Pūrṇadvīpa with Borneo, the Rākṣasa-dvīpa with Ceylon, the Karpūra-dvīpa with ancient Śrīvijaya (Sumatra), the Śaka-dvīpa with the region between the Syr Daria and the Volga, and the Śveta-dvīpa with Transcaspiana.

The work gives evidence of the author's extensive reading and vast erudition. The V. V. R. Institute deserves our thanks for having brought out this invaluable study on India's cultural expansion.

V. V. MIRASHI

EXPANSION OF INDO-ARYAN CULTURE By Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1964. Pp. 137, plates 20. Rs. 15/-.

The book reviewed represents the author's Thesis approved for the Ph. D. degree by the Leyden University in 1934. It appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Letters) in 1935. Now it

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has been issued in book-form. However, in the *Appendix* the author has included nine articles published in various journals after 1935:

The main part of the book consists of five parts: (1) The Pallavas, (2) Ceylon, (3) Malacca, (4) Indonesia (Sumatra, Java, Borneo), (5) Indochina (Campa and Cambodia) and (6) Conclusions. In the first part, the history of the Pallavas is sketched mainly on the basis of Gopalan's *History of the Pallavas of Kāñchī*, (Madras, 1928). In the second part there is an excursus on the relations of the Pallavas with Ceylon. The author has shown how Ceylon provides the missing links in the history of the Brāhmī script into the Pallava-grantha alphabet.

In the third section we find a discussion of some important epigraphs of the Malaya Peninsula throwing light on the ancient history and culture of that region. The author has suggested some fresh readings of some inscriptions and reconsidered the question of the Ligor inscriptions. He opines that the writing on both the faces of the stele must have originally formed one continuous inscription, but that its first half was on the face which Coedès called 'B'. This inscription 'B' reveals the name of a king named Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇu-ākhyā*) of the Śailendra dynasty. The author has plausibly identified him with Śrī Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak seal. The present reviewer has further identified him with the unnamed Śailendra king mentioned in the Kalasan inscription dated 778 A.D. (Buddha Prakash, *India and the World*, p. 176). However, it is difficult to treat him as the king of Śrīvijaya referred to in Ligor Inscription 'A'. In fact, these two inscriptions, 'A' and 'B', appear to be different. It appears that the kings of Śrīvijaya were in possession of the Peninsular region of Malaya from A.D. 695 when I-Tsing in his *Mūlasarvāstivādaikaśātakarman* referred to the rule of Fo-Shib (Śrīvijaya) over Chich-ch'a (Kedah). About A.D. 778, the Śailendra king Viṣṇu conquered it from the Śrīvijayan monarch. (O. W. Welter, 'Śrīvijayan Expansion in the seventh century', *Coedès Felicitation Volume*, p. 419).

In the fourth section on Indonesia the author has dealt with the inscriptions of Sumatra, Java and Borneo. His interpretation of the term *siddhayātra* as a 'successful voyage' is very convincing. He has appropriately pointed out that the association of magic with this term is far-fetched. Analogous expressions like *siddhayātrika* and *siddhayātratva* in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Jatakamālā* make the sense of this term quite clear. His suggestion to equate *Kuṇḍunga*, the name of the grandfather of king Mūlavarman of Borneo, with *Kuṇḍukūra* of a Pallava record is more convincing than Majumdar's view that it is a variant of *Kaundinya*.

The fifth section relates to the inscriptions of Campa and Cambodia and the sixth entitled 'Conclusions' sums up the author's thesis that, "There must have existed a close and constant contact and a regular communication by sea between Coromandel and the countries overseas and that during several centuries (c. 300-800 A.D.) the Indo-Aryan influence kept spreading far and wide in those lands, while, at the same time, strengthening the cultural relations" (p. 73). This period roughly corresponds with the rule of the Pallava dynasty in South India. The use of *varman*-ending names, the title of Bhadravarman *dharmamahārāja* and the use of the Pallava-grantha script are proofs of the contribution of the Pallavas to the colonisation of South-East Asia. However, one great difficulty in the acceptance of this view, admitted by the author also, is that the Pallava records are quite reticent about the contacts of the kings of this dynasty with the countries of South-East Asia.

In fact, in the process of the expansion of Indian culture, people from all parts of India took part. The author has himself shown that the sacrificial posts or *yūpas* of East Borneo have their analogues in North India, particularly Rajputana (p. 103). He has also stated that the names of the canals dug by king Pūrṇavarman of Java, viz., Chandrabhāgā and Gomati, recall the names of the rivers of North India, especially, the Panjab (p. 42). The Jātakas refer to the frequent voyages of the Indian traders from Tāmralipti in the East and Śūrpāraka and Bhṛgukaccha in the West. Thus, it is patent that the spread of Indian culture in South-East Asia was the work of the Indian people as a whole. People from all parts of the country took part in it and contributed their special elements to it.

The author further holds that "although ever since the time of Asoka (c. 250 B.C.) Buddhism had been spreading far and wide outside India, yet according to epigraphical evidence, it was Brāhmanism that was first to reach the countries under discussion" (p. 76). Though it is true that the earliest South-East Asian epigraphy is Brāhmanical in character, yet it is equally clear that the sculpture of that region is Buddhist in outlook. In his interesting paper '*Les marchands de mer dans le Bouddhisme primitif*', Sylvain Lévi has shown that the Buddhists were among the pioneers of Indian colonial and commercial undertakings in South-East Asia. But in the Gupta and Pallava periods when the current of Indian cultural expansion in South-East Asia reached its high-water mark the aristocracy, Brāhmaṇa and Ksatriya, was wedded to Brāhmanical beliefs. This explains why the inscriptions coming from these aristocratic circles have a Brāhmanical orientation. But the traders and other people also professed Buddhism and translated their faith in art and sculpture.

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The reviewer is convinced that the present work is a welcome addition to works of reference on the history and culture of South-East Asia in ancient times. In particular, it is a solid contribution to the epigraphy of that region. Its publication in book-form, with the addition of new material, is bound to be of immense use to all students of Indian history and civilization.

BUDDHA PRAKASH

LETTERATURA CLASSICA DELL' INDIA ANTICA per Oscar Botto.
Editrice Studium, Roma, 1964. (*Universale Studium*, No. 94). Pp. 190.
(Price not stated).

Intended for the general cultured Italian reader, we have in the book reviewed here a short but delightful account of Classical Sanskrit literature. In six chapters devoted, in order, to Dramatic, Poetic, Story, Lyrical, Gnostic and Narrative literatures, the author has given succinct running expositions of these branches of literature and supplements the information, at the end of the respective chapters, with references to further reading. In dealing with the several masterpieces, the author has, *inter alia*, laid due stress on the salient characteristics of Classical Sanskrit, viz, its richness of motifs, wealth of vocabulary, elegance of expression and mature style. In his approach and critical exposition of the subject of his study, the author upholds, in sooth, the lofty tradition of Sanskrit scholarship in Italy, built up by veterans like A. Ballini, V. Pisani and M. Vallauri.

K. V. SARMA

AN ANTHOLOGY OF SANSKRIT COURT POETRY; VIDYĀKARA'S
SUBHĀṢITARATNAKOṢA Translated by Daniel H. H. Ingalls.
Harvard University Press, Cambridge, (Mass., U.S.A.), 1965.
Harvard Or. Series, No. 44). Pp. xii, 611. \$ 15/-.

The *Subhāṣitaratnaṅkoṣa* has the distinction of being the earliest known anthology among the vast literature of this class in Sanskrit and also of being one of the best of the type. Compiled by the Buddhist monk Vidyākara, in Bengal, sometime between A.D. 1050 and 1100, during the heyday of the Pāla dynasty, this anthology brings together over 1700 gems of poetry covering practically every phase of the life of the times—social, political and religious—arranged under 50 sections. Some of the sections are devoted to nature, the seasons and other miscellaneous subjects. Over 200 poets, chiefly of the period from A. D. 700 to 1050, many of whose

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works have not come down to us, have been drawn upon. An imperfect edition of the work, under the title *Kavindravacanasa-muccaya* was issued by the late Dr. F. W. Thomas as early as 1912 (*Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta), to be followed, recently, by its full critical edition by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale (1957, *Harvard Or. Series*, No. 42). The book under review is a translation of the work into delectable English verse, a labour of love of over ten years, by Prof. D. H. H. Ingalls.

The translation is intended both for the student of Sanskrit who requires help in understanding the difficult verses and for the general lover of literature with no special grounding in Sanskrit. Through the textual notes and the detailed prefatory remarks to the different sections, and above all, through the lucidity and accuracy of the translation itself, Prof. Ingalls has largely succeeded in achieving his purpose.

The General Introduction, in over fifty pages, prefixed to the book, is particularly noteworthy in its third section entitled "On the passing of judgments," where Prof. Ingalls endeavours to lay down the proper perspective for assessing Sanskrit poetry.

While the translator thanks "that ancient abbot Vidyākara, for furnishing (him, the translator, with) the happiest hours of labour that (he has) yet known" (Preface, p. 2), it would not be too much to hope that the inquisitive reader, especially of the interested non-Sanskritic type, too, would thank the translator for some of his (the reader's) happiest hours.

K. V. SARMA

THE MUSIC OF INDIA By Shripad Bandoypadhyaya. D. B. Taraporevala Sons, Bombay-1. Second Revised Edn., 1958. Pp. x, 84, Pl. 25, Line drawings 30. Rs. 5/50.

Intended to serve as a popular hand-book of Hindustani music, the book reviewed here deals with the *Rāgas*, the system of *Rāga*-classification into *Thatas*, the time theory of *Rāgas*, *Tālas* and certain musical forms like *Dhrupad*, *Dhamar Khayal* etc. in the Hindustani music as practised today. The account of the basic principles of *Thata* and the different aspects of the theory and practice of *Rāga* and *Tala* as given by the author are quite competent to introduce the subject to the inquisitive reader and to create in him an interest in it. In fact, the book is addressed to the non-expert lover of music and is intended to supply him with some basic information about the Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati, and to this limited extent, it serves a useful purpose.

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The line drawings of musical instruments etc. have been neatly executed. On page 3, however, the name *Tabla* has been given against the drawing of *Banya*, and vice versa. The half-tone blocks are nice reproductions of paintings depicting the different *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs*. But, in the present book, which deals with the *Thata* classification, they have no relevance.

The book is well-produced and got-up.

PREM LATA SHARMA

INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY SINCE INDEPENDENCE By Shri B. B. Lal.
Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Delhi, 1964, Pp. 107, Plates XLI. Rs. 15/-.

The book under review is an admirable survey of the progress and achievements of Indian archaeology since Independence. From p. 13 to 70 we have a thrilling account of new discoveries adding new dimensions to our knowledge of India's past. This is followed by a very useful 'Glossary of technical terms' providing a key to the topics dealt with earlier (pp. 71-83). Then comes a *Bibliography* (pp. 83-99) and thereafter an *Index* (pp. 101-107). At the end, a series of plates provides a rich feast to the eyes.

The main part of the book is divided into seven chapters entitled 'The Discoveries and Researches', 'The care of the Heritage', 'Archaeology's increasing indebtedness to natural sciences', 'Dissemination, the prime role : Museums and Exhibitions', 'Beyond the Frontiers too', 'And, now about Ourselves' and 'Before the bell rings out the Sixties'.

Among important discoveries listed by the author are microlithic finds from Teri sites in South India, over a hundred Harappan sites "from Rupar in Panjab on the north to Bhagatrav in Gujarat on the south and upto Alamgirpur in Uttara Pradesh on the east" (p. 17), fire-altars on a mud-brick platform near a well, the bath-platform and inscribed potshreds showing the direction of Harappan writing from the right to the left at Kalibangan, the dockyard and the Persian Gulf seal at Lothal. the ochre-ware and copper hoards in the Ganga Valley, the painted grey ware culture associated with the elusive Indo-Aryans, the neolithic pit-dwellers at Burzahom in Kashmir, the white painted black-and-red ware at Ahar and Gilund and similar wares at Pandu-rajar-dhibi in West Bengal and Kuchai in Orissa, the earliest rice associated with the chalcolithic culture at Navda Toli, a matt-surfaced black-on-red pottery, called the Jorwe ware, at Nasik, Nevasa, Daimabad, Chandoli etc., the cave paintings at Chibbar-nala in Madhya Pradesh, the Northern black polished ware at

Rupar and other sites, the Aśvamedha sites at Jagatgram, the sky-scraping defences and corbelled drain at Kauśāmbī, the *stūpa* of the Licchavis at Vaiśālī, the rouletted ware indicating Indo-Roman contacts at Tamluk and Candraketugarh, the finds at Chirunli showing its identification with Raktamṛttikā, an adjunct of Karna-suvarṇa, the capital of king Śaśaṅka, the planned township of Śiśupalagarh, the monastic establishments of the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna dispensation at Ratnagiri, the massive fortifications at Ujjain, the bronze figure of Atlas at Devnīmori, the Roman glass at Dharanikota, the amphitheatre at Nāgarjunikoṇḍa, the sea-port at Kāveripattanam, the Aśokan inscriptions at Gurjara, Rajula Mandagiri, Sopāra, Abraura and Kandahar and the bowl from Kandahar bearing an Aśokan epigraph, the copper plate charter of Rājendra Cola weighing over a hundred kilograms and a large number of inscriptions, coins etc revealing the vast range of topics covered by the author.

In spite of this wonderful progress in Indian Archaeology, there are many gaps and lacunae in it. The origin, nature and end of the Harappan civilization are shrouded in mystery, the problem of the so-called Aryans continues to elude our grasp, the transition to the N. B. P. is not clearly established, and the remains of many historical dynasties remain to be shifted, analysed and studied. There is no doubt that further progress in archaeological research will throw light on these dark pages of Indian history.

As yet, the character of the Harappan civilization remains obscure. Wheeler calls it explosive and Heine-Geldern refers to it as "a sudden emergency without any trace of prior development." ('The origins of ancient civilizations and Toynbee's theories', *Diogenes*, no. XIII (1956) p. 88). It is said to be the creation of the Dravidians (Heras), the Ubaidians (Kramer), the Sumerians (Toynbee) etc. But recent archaeological studies have revealed that over the vast territory stretching from Transcaucasia and Turkmenia to the Narmada Valley a great complex of chalcolithic cultures evolved from the fourth to the second millennium B.C. Men began to take to cattle-breeding and agriculture and the practice of arts and crafts necessary for them. As a result, village communities grew and developed. In course of time trade and industry, ritual and religion, and defence and administration combined to develop villages into larger townships and fortified citadels. This process led to the growth of the civilizations of Sumer, Elam and the Indus Valley. Hence it is wrong to call the Harappan civilization explosive. It was the culmination of the social evolution of the Indo-Iranian regions.

Usually, historians and archaeologists start with the presumption that the Harappan civilization met its end at the hands of the Aryans who came

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to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent from outside. But "there remains in our mind a grave doubt whether these invaders could be connected at all with the collapse of the Harappa culture." (F. A. Khan, 'Archaeology in Pakistan', *Expedition* (1964) vol. 6, no. 3, p. 6). "The enemy of the Harappans was Nature aided and abetted by the Harappans themselves, who accelerated the spoliation of the landscape through improper irrigation practices, and by denuding the watersheds through overgrazing and deforestation." (George F. Dales, 'The Mythical massacre at Mohenjodaro', *Expedition* (1964) vol. 6, no. 3, p. 43). The present reviewer has added that the rural people rose against the urban classes and razed their citadels to the ground (Buddha Prakash, *The Rgveda and the Indus Valley Civilization*, ch. IV). Thus, the Indus Valley civilization fell on account of internal causes and factors.

As regards the Aryans, there is no positive evidence to indicate that they came to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent from any other country. The *Rgveda*, the oldest literary monument of the so-called Aryans, does not reveal the slightest trace of the migration of these people from other regions. Rather, it regards the 'Land of the seven rivers' as a sacred land and an original home, as is clear from the following hymn addressed to Sarasvatī: "Guide us Sarasvatī to glorious treasure. Refuse us not thy milk, nor spurn us from thee. Gladly accept our friendship and obedience; let us not go from thee to distant countries." (*Rgveda* 6. 61. 14).

It appears that the region from the Sarasvatī up to the sea, encompassing the Caspian and the Aral, was the cradleland of the Indo-Iranian people called the Aryans. In the opinion of the present reviewer the Harappan civilization was the creation of these people. A large number of its features, especially, the ideas and concepts of its people, can be explained only with reference to Rgvedic data.

Shri B. B. Lal identifies the authors of the painted grey ware with the Aryans, who followed the Harappans. But at no site has the painted grey ware been found just above the Indus Valley ware. At Rupar there is a distinct break between the Indus Valley and the painted grey ware levels. At Hastinapur the painted grey ware level follows a crude ochre-coloured pottery level rather than the pure Indus Valley layer. There, the sample from upper level range, in date, from 505+130 B. C. to 355+115 B.C., whereas the Indus Valley culture came to an end by the 17th century B.C. That the Aryan culture, if it supplanted the Indus Valley civilization, could remain static and uniform for about one and a half millennium is not very plausible. Besides this, the painted grey ware

is not noticed at Harappa or Mohenjodaro, the two most important sites of the Indus Valley civilization. This ware is absent also from other sites in Europe or Asia where the Aryans are believed to have lived in the course of their migration to India. Its western-most extension is Lakhio pir in Pakistan and possibly Shahi Tump in Baluchistan. Hence, it cannot be said with certainty that the makers of the painted grey ware destroyed the Indus cities or that they represented the Aryans who are credited with that feat. (Cf. Leonard Woolley, *History of Mankind*, vol. I, pp. 411-12; V. Balahushevich, *Some Problems of History of India*, p. 3). As the present reviewer has suggested, the occurrence of the painted grey ware just below the flood level at Hastinapur may show its association with the Kurus or the Kauravas, who are known to have dominated the Gangetic region before the flood in the Gaṅgā, which forced their king Nicakṣu to shift the capital to Kauśāmbī (Buddha Prakash, *Political and social movements in Ancient Panjab*, pp. 18-19).

A very interesting part of the book under review is an account of the finds of Nubia which are analogous to those from South India. The black-and-red ware bowls and jar-stands of red ware as well as the circular stone wallings enclosing the graves are all reminiscent of what obtains in the Megalithic tombs of South India. This has opened up a new vista of a vast cultural movement encompassing North Africa and South India during early times. Our sincere thanks are due to Shri B. B. Lal for this pioneer research.

The reviewer is sure that this book is of inestimable value to scholars, students and readers, alike. It is bound to stimulate both the historian and the archaeologist.

BUDDHA PRAKASH

LES HINDOUS ET LEURS ECRITURES SACREES par Professeur B. Bissondoyal. Libraire Adyar, Paris-7, 1965, Pp. 171.

The book reviewed here is an attempt to present to the readers of French, in proper perspective, the nature, contents and significance of the sacred literature of the Hindus. *Inter alia* the author takes note of the influence exerted by the Upaniṣads, the *Gītā* and other Indian texts on the thought and writings of modern Europe.

In seven chapters he takes a bird's eye-view, from the above-said stand-point, of the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, the Śāstras, the Epics and the *Gītā*. It is refreshing to note that the author's approach to his task is inquisitive and modern-oriented. He does not stop short with the

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traditional views but goes on to correlate the knowledge—cultural, philosophical and scientific—adumbrated in ancient Indian texts with modern parallels, though at times one gets the feeling that the author, in his enthusiasm, stretches the parallels too far (cf. the reference, made with approbation, to aeroplanes, p. 30 fn.). Some of the parallels suggested are striking, like, for instance, that between the *Nāsadiya-sūkta* (RV X. 129) and certain passages in the ancient *Edda*-s of Scandinavia (p. 45), and the lines from Shakespeare's *Henry V* which remind one of the words of the vacillating Arjuna in the first chapter of the *Gītā* (pp. 133-34). The naive charm of many a Vedic and Upaniṣadic passage, pregnant with meaning, produces a thrill in the author which he desires to share with his readers (see pp. 48-56, 62-64).

Pointed reference is made to the inspiration drawn by modern Western writers like Duperron, Huxley, G. Heard, Eliot and Schweister, from ancient Indian texts. A full chapter has been devoted to a study of the novel inspired by the *Kāṭhopaniṣad*, viz., *The Razor's Edge* by Somerset Maugham.

Chapters V and VI of the book form short studies on the twin epics of India, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, where the author indicates the lessons which modern society could draw, with much benefit, from these literary treasures. Indicating the impact which the former epic had on Europe, the author speaks, with great feeling, of the love and veneration with which the work is looked upon in his country, namely, Mauritius and also reproduces in full a charming poem on *Sītā* by a Mauritian poet (pp. 118-20).

In the last but perhaps the most important chapter of this book, the author endeavours to correct certain wrong notions prevailing about the real purpose and significance of the *Gītā* (pp. 133-39) as a prelude to his evaluation of modern expositions of this classic. He also translates some of the best lines from this "product of the *Spirit of India*".

The book is a good introduction to Indian thought and view of life, especially, to the interested Western reader. The aim of the author is limited to the appreciative observation and sympathetic understanding of the past of India and its shrewd correlation to the present, and not a full exposition of the Indian sacred literature. And, to this limited extent, he can be said to have achieved creditable success.

K. V. SARMA

INDEX TO PAPERS IN COMMEMORATION VOLUMES Compiled by the P. G. and Research Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1964. Pp. vii, 7, 647. Rs. 30/-.

Research Journals and Proceedings Volumes of academic Conferences often have periodical consolidated indexes prepared and published for them but the Commemoration Volumes pertaining to Indology had lacked hitherto an effective key to the vast amount of valuable material locked up in them. It was therefore a bright idea on the part of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute to undertake the compilation of an *Index* to the very large number of papers scattered in numerous Commemoration Volumes of Indological interest. We have before us the first product of their enterprise, a sumptuous volume of about 650 pages of utmost reference-value to students of all branches of Indianistic and Oriental studies. About 4600 papers written by over 200 scholars and published in 129 Commemoration Volumes, Indian and foreign, have been arranged here Author-wise and Title-wise.

The Foreword takes cognisance of the fact that the number of Commemoration Volumes of Indological interest would be around 250. (The number would be very much larger if volumes in all Indian and foreign languages are included). Now that the present volume treats only about half of the 250 volumes contemplated, it is presumed that the BORI is currently engaged in indexing, similarly, the rest of the volumes as well, to be issued in continuation. We would therefore like to offer here a few suggestions which might prove useful when the second volume of the *Index* is finally processed for the press.

A few things for the avoidance of which particular care might be taken are : (1) Non-uniformity of abbreviations as given in their alphabetical *List* and as used in the body of the *Index* (See, for example, Barua, B. C. Law, C. K. Raja, D. R. Bhandarkar, K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, R. G. Bhandarkar, S. K. Aiyangar). (2) addition of explanatory words, in the body of the *Index*, to the accepted abbreviations (See, e.g., 1718, 1720, 1723, 1724. References here, as also below, are to the Author-numbers). (3) Indexing the same scholars at different places under different alphabetical sequences (See, e.g., 25, 28 and 743 ; 34 and 751 : 37 and 100 ; 43 and 752 ; 44 and 754 ; 769 and 770 ; 1020 and 1021 ; 1580 and 1602 ; 1588 and 1589 ; 1598 and 1690 ; 1602 and 1609 ; 1725 and 1960). (4) Names of scholars being mis-spelt (See 18, 19, 26, 29, 98, 500, 1588, 1606, 1608, 1820). (5) Numbering of pointer entries (See, e.g., 21, 32, 97, 745, 1560, 1571, 1691). (6) Addition of honorific titles to names (See 28, 756). (7) Inclusion of papers which are in no way related Indology (e.g., 147, 1977).

Some of the additional facilities that an interested user of the *Index* would be anxious to have are : (1) Full bibliographical details of the *Com. Vols.* indexed (2) Explanatory words added in brackets in the case of misleading, ambiguous and incomplete titles. (See, for example, 1567, 517, 563 first item). (3) Key-words being printed, dictionary-wise, at the outer corners of the pages to facilitate using the *Index*.

Variety in typography to distinguish, from one another, the author, the title and the reference could make the *Index* conform to general practice and would also add to the appearance of the pages. Full cross-references (as it is, it is only partial) and brief annotations in the Title Index-Section can greatly increase the usefulness of the *Index*.

It would, again, be worthwhile for the BORI to take up the *Index* of *Com. Vols.* as a permanent item of their work-programme and, in continuation of the volume that must be in the offing, issue similar volumes every five years. The BORI deserves the thanks of all students of Indology for the very useful volume they have now issued and for the volumes that might be issued in future.

K. V. SARMA

ADVAITA GRANTHA KOŚA Prepared by a Disciple of Śrī Iṣṭasiddhindra Sarasvatī Svāmī of the Upaniṣad Brahma Maṭh, Kanchipuram. Pp. ii, 12, 1, lviii, 37, 151, x. (Year and price not stated.)

The *Advaita Grantha Kośa* reviewed here is an endeavour towards an exhaustive bibliography of Sanskrit texts on Advaita, available in print or in manuscript. A shorter version of this *Kośa*, issued under the title *Advaitagranthakośa-Saṅgraha*, was reviewed in a previous Number of this *Journal* (III. i. March, 1965, pp. 131-32).

Divided into sections devoted to the Upaniṣads, the *Gīta*, the *Brahma-Sūtra*, Minor *Prakaraṇas* etc. the *Kośa* lists in tabular form, the editions or deposit as manuscripts, the Advaitic texts, and, under Remarks, adds textual, descriptive and other notes on the texts listed. The *Kośa* is prefixed with a long Introduction in two parts, the first of which collects together passages from the Vedas, the Śāstras and the later texts proving the antiquity and authenticity of monistic thought in India and the second gives biographical sketches of the leading Advaitic teachers from the time of Saṅkarācārya to modern times, thus, forming a short literary history of Advaita.

The utility value of the wealth of information painstakingly collected by the compiler in this *Kośa* is, however, greatly hampered by inadequate

and imperfect presentation. We had occasion to draw attention to similar imperfections in the *Saṅgraha* and also make several suggestions for their rectification in the Review of the *Saṅgraha*, referred to above. Most of these apply to this larger *Kośa* as well. We may add here that it might still be worthwhile for the compiler to check, supplement and present in proper, academic and more convenient form, if necessary with external expert help, the very rich material he has laboriously collected in this *Kośa*.

K. V. SARMA

PRACĪ-JYOTI: DIGEST OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES. Ed. D. N. Shastri and Buddha Prakash. Institute of Indic Studies, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra. Vol. II. i (June, 1964), Pp. xvi. 310. An. Subs. Rs. 30/-.

The *Digest of Indological Studies* of the Kurukshetra University which made its *debut* in December, 1963, has just issued its Vol II. i (June, 1964). A distinct improvement on the previous Number, the present one covers 285 Journals of Indological interest. The number of articles digested is 398, published in 12 different languages. About 235 Research Dissertations, done or being done in the different Indian Universities, have been listed, subject-wise. Research activities in about 20 Indological institutions have also been reported.

It is well that the Editors have specified the scope of the *Digest* by defining *Indology*, as conceived in the present work, to mean 'knowledge of ancient India' and the chronological terminus of the material digested roughly to "the establishment of the Turkish Sultanate at Delhi" (Editorial, p. 15), so that the users could be clear in this matter.

In view of the varied material on a large number of subjects included in the *Digest*, the 15 broad divisions under which the articles and Dissertations have been arranged are not more than vague and inadequate guides for seekers of information. A comprehensive *General Index* is essential if the *Digest* is to be put to effective use.

The unpunctual publication of some of the Journals included, the apathy of some of the correspondent contributors and the indifference of individuals and institutions approached for translation of material in foreign languages have been some of the difficulties which the editors had to cope with. In spite of these, they have done their job well. It is to be hoped that they will receive better co-operation in future. In fact, it is up to every scholar devoted to Indological studies to co-operate actively in this project by sending the editors information about his research work, immediately on publication.

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NEW JOURNALS

BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF MEDICINE ; VAIDYA ITIHĀSA PRAKĀŚIKĀ, Ed. Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy. Osmania Medical College, Hyderabad (Dn.). Quarterly. An. Subs. Rs. 12/-.

BULLETIN OF TIBETOLOGY, Ed. Nirmal C. Sinha. Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim. Half-yearly. An. Subs. Rs. 6/-.

INDIAN MUSIC JOURNAL, Ed. Prof. V. V. Sadagopan. Delhi Sangita Samaj, Delhi-7. Half-yearly. An. Subs. Rs. 5/-.

The Department of History of Medicine of the Osmania University, started recently, in 1956, is a unique institution engaged in the study, teaching and research in the history of medicine in ancient, mediaeval and modern India. The *Bulletin* noticed here is the research organ of the Department started with the object of publishing the results of the researches into original sources in Āyurveda, Unāni and other systems of medicine conducted in the Department.

It is gratifying to note that the *Bulletin* has set itself to its selected task in all earnestness and that in the Numbers already published we have excerpts in translation from five Āyurvedic Samhitās and several Arabic and Persian texts, and a number of accounts of early European medical missionaries in India, besides lists of medical manuscripts as available in several public and private repositories, accounts of some rare manuscripts, periodical Bibliographies of the history of medicine in India and news and notes of medico-historical interest. To be sure, the *Bulletin* is playing an active and very useful role in this rather neglected field of study, the credit for which goes to Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy, the Founder-Director of the Department and the Editor of the *Bulletin*.

The advent of the *Bulletin of Tibetology*, being the research organ of Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, devoted exclusively to the publication of academic studies on the subject is welcome. Hitherto students of Tibetan studies in India had recourse in the matter only to general Indological periodicals like the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, *Indian Historical Quarterly* and others. A periodical specialising in this field of study was a desideratum and it is to be hoped that the present *Bulletin* will fulfil this need.

The four, rather thin, Numbers issued thus far, contain short articles on Tibetan texts on Buddhism, Tibetan geography, Buddhist Tantra etc. and a Bibliography of post-war Russian works on Tibet. The *Bulletin* leaves much scope for improvement in the matter of contents, get-up and

academic standards, which, we hope, will ensue under the fostering care of the enthusiastic editor-in-charge, Dr. N. C. Sinha.

It was a happy idea on the part of the Delhi Sangita Samaj to convert into a regular academic journal the half-yearly Souvenirs which they used to issue on the occasions of their Summer Music Festival held in Vaiśākha (April-May) and Autumn Music Meet which met in Kārttika (October-November): The present *Journal* came into being in April 1964.

Besides forming the appropriate forum for the publication of the talks on music delivered and the discussions held during the academic sessions of the Samaj on the above-said two occasions, the *Journal* serves as a medium for the publication of standard articles on Indian music addressed to the cultured reader and the results of investigations conducted by researchers on music. The *Journal* includes also brief biographical sketches of eminent Indian musicians.

Academic Journalistic activity in India at present in the sphere of music being what it is, there is vast scope for the growth and expansion of the present *Journal*. The bifurcation of the academic part of the *Journal* from the Programme and Advertisements Sections and the issue of the two separately would be a change for the better. And, now that the *Journal* has found its feet, the editor should set out extending and improving the quality and quantity of its contents, and its printing and get-up so as to attain international standards and make his product the '*Indian Music Journal*' in the full sense of the term.

Situated in Delhi where the different cultures and traditions of India, including the musical, meet, the Delhi Sangita Samaj has a profound duty to perform, viz., the fostering of the mutual understanding of the two great music traditions of the land, the *Hindustani* and the *Karnatak*. And, in this endeavour, it is to be hoped that the *Indian Music Journal* which is "devoted to liberal education in music" will serve as an effective instrument.

K. V. SARMA

NEWS AND NOTES

INTERNAL

Membership

During the six months from March to August, 1965, 15 new Life Members (Subs. Rs. 250/-) and 17 Annual Members (Subsn. Rs. 10/- p a.) were registered for the V. V. R. Institute Society.

Integration with the Panjab University

The late Swami Nityanand and the late Swami Vishveshvaranand set up the Institute as a private office at Simla in 1903 and spent the last ten (1903-13) and twenty-two (1903-25) years of their lives, respectively, in nurturing it in its infancy. At the end of 1923, the latter surviving Swamiji entrusted the present Director with the task of establishing it at Lahore and running it from 1. 1. 1924 onwards in the form of an organised institution. Since that day, its work has been constantly gaining in momentum and expanding in its scope. When in 1947, it was in danger of being disrupted and devoured by the wild forces of destruction let loose by the partition of the country, it completely triumphed over the grim situation and saved itself intact through the extraordinary courage, endurance, sense of duty and devotion of its workers. And, by effecting its perfect rehabilitation soon after the forced shelter-seeking at Hoshiarpur, it, indeed, gave an indication of its lasting potentiality and, in a way, a fore-glimpse of its future many-sided development.

During the past 62 years of its active life, it has collected over 80 lakhs of rupees, not more than just a quarter of which, altogether, 'was received, by way of grants, from the Union and the State Governments and some corporate bodies. The entire remaining amount has been raised through private donations, sale of publications and job printings. During the same period, it has spent about 65 lakhs on its current activities and the remaining money, mainly, on its buildings, printing machinery and stock of publications. The V. V. R. Institute Society which runs it is registered as a charitable body. It has on its rolls 3000 constituent Members in India and abroad. Besides having conducted its regularly running four journals, it has published mainly, through the medium of its several special series nearly 370 other titles consisting of books and papers. The staff manning its several departments numbers about 200.

In 1957, the Panjab University decided that its Sanskrit Department should be shifted to Hoshiarpur to run, conjointly, with the V. V. R.

Institute. Somehow, the University could not then implement that decision. However, at its suggestion, the Institute started its own post-graduate Sanskrit Teaching Department towards which the University conferred upon the Institute the status of an Affiliated College. From 1959 onwards, the Kurukshetra University very much desired that even though the Institute might remain at Hoshiarpur, as it insisted that it must, it should become a part of the said University. On account of a legal difficulty that could not be overcome, its continuous efforts in this behalf, however, did not succeed. In the beginning of 1965, the Panjab University made a similar proposal, namely, that the Institute while continuing to stay at Hoshiarpur should integrate itself with that University in respect of some of its academic departments and that the said University should be responsible for the financial arrangement towards the maintenance and development of the said departments of the Institute. This proposal was finally accepted by the Institute on 25. 4. 1965 and formally sanctioned by the University on 30. 6. 1965 to become effective from 1. 7. 1965.

Pursuant to this decision, the activities of the different departments of the Institute have now been spread over two distinct Institutes, working, conjointly and in unison, on the same premises at Hoshiarpur. The Departments of (1) Cultural Literature and other Activities, (2) Translation, (3) Hindi, (4) Printing, (5) Publication and (6) Sales continue to function as before as the V. V. R. Institute under the control of the V. V. R. Institute Society. The Traditional Sanskrit Teaching also continues to be conducted by the "V. V. R. Institute" and the University is helping this activity towards strengthening the staff and providing the matching share as needed for the grants. The various Research Departments, the Post-Graduate Teaching Department and the Library Department have been taken over by the University and are now functioning under the name of "Vishveshvaranand Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies," the V. V. R. I. Society continuing to make funds available for this Institute also to the extent it can spare. Under the overall control of the Syndicate and the Senate, its affairs are being managed by a special Board of Control consisting of eight members. The Vice-Chancellor is the ex-officio Chairman and the Director, an ex-officio Member and the Convener of this Board. Out of the remaining six members, three have been nominated by the University and an equal number by the V. V. R. I. Society. The University has nominated Prof. D. C. Sharma, M.P., Prof. Pritam Singh and Principal Prem Chand Markanda as its first representatives on the said Board, and Dr. Mehar Chand Mahajan, ex-Chief Justice of India, Diwan Anand Kumar, ex-Vice-Chancellor of Panjab

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University and Dr. G. L. Datta, ex-Vice-Chancellor of Vikram University are the first nominees of the V. V. R. I. Society, and, out of them, Dr. Mahajan is the first statutory Vice-Chairman of the Board. Dr. Vishva Bandhu, the present honorary Life-Director of the V. V. R. Institute is the Honorary Life-Director of the new Institute, also,

By virtue of the above consummation under which the Vishveshvaranand Institute has become a part and parcel of the Panjab University, it may be said to have attained to the status of a University. At the same time, its distinct individuality and autonomy have been preserved, practically, intact. This arrangement should certainly stabilize its future and ensure its further development. Now it can be said with greater confidence that it will not only be able to maintain its existence but also to grow from strength to strength towards reaching its full stature.

Annual Meeting of the General Body

The 62nd Annual Meeting of the V. V. R. Institute Society was held on Sunday, the 1st August, 1965, with Shri Sant Ram, B.A. in the chair. 71 Members and 15 other friends were present at the meeting. The Annual Report on the working of the Institute during the year 1964-65, as approved by its Executive Board, was presented to the General Body by Acharya Vishva Bandhu, Joint Secretary of the Society. He also referred to the developments which had led to the integration of the Institute's Research, Post-graduate Teaching and Library Departments with the Panjab University (as detailed above). The General Body, which expressed satisfaction at the Annual Report, adopted it and permitted it to be published. It also passed the Audited Statement of Income and Expenditure for 1964-65, being Rs. 4,90,789.64 and Rs. 5,61,135.17, respectively, entailing a deficit of about Rs. 70,000. The Budget Estimates for the year 1965-66, which were likewise passed, envisaged an expenditure of Rs. 18.96 lakhs and an income of Rs. 14.48 lakhs. Principal Rala Ram, M.L.A., and Shri Dev Datta Shastri were re-elected as members of the Executive Board for the next triennium. Principal Ram Das, Ex-M.P. proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair and also thanked all those who attended the meeting, after which the Chairman declared the meeting closed.

Academic Staff

Shri S. K. Swami, M.A., joined the Chandigarh Sub-Office to assist and work under the guidance of Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, the Honorary Academic Adviser, in respect of the project, as in progress, of the Summary of Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*.

Additional Staff

Following the above-mentioned integration of the V. V. R. Institute with the Panjab University and the setting up, in consequence of it, by the University, on the premises of the V. V. R. Institute itself, of another separate centre, namely, the Vishveshvaranand Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Shri Jagan Nath Agrawal, Senior Reader and Shri Parmanand Shastri, Pandit in the University's Sanskrit Department at Chandigarh have been transferred to and joined duty at the Institute at Hoshiarpur. Some more Professors, Readers, Pandits and Lecturers are also going to be gradually appointed to strengthen the Institute staff to cope with the projects on hand which number over two dozen,

The University has already advertised in this behalf the post entitled *Kalidasa Professor of Sanskrit* (grade : 1000-50-1500) for which applications have been invited from suitable candidates possessing, besides the usual high qualifications of brilliant academic career and outstanding research work, adequate experience of planning, organising and guiding research towards training up a new generation of erudite researchers in all the branches of Sanskrit Learning and Indology, being the first and foremost desideratum from the point of view of ensuring a bright future for the Sanskrit and Indological studies in this country as well as abroad.

Vedic Dictionary Project

The work on the project of *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Vedic Interpretation* was resumed after an abeyance of over a decade, on the successful completion of the major project of the 22-volume *Vedic Word-Concordance-cum-Grammatical Indices* (16,000 pages). A *Specimen* of the Dictionary comprising the treatment of the word *Āmśa-* was prepared and issued as a *Supplement* to the last Number of this Journal (III. i, March, 1965) and also as a separate publication (*Śāntakutī Vedic Research Series*, No. 22). It was sent to a number of Vedic Philologists in India and abroad, inviting them to examine and express their views on the methodology and the conceptual background of the *Specimen*. The response to this reference has been quite encouraging and the replies which have been received from several scholars are being studied for suitable use in the further progress of the work on the Dictionary.

Publications

(a) The undermentioned publications of the Institute were issued during the last six months :

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(i) *Śāntakuṭī Vedic Research Series*

- No. 15 (a). *A Vedic Word-Concordance (Vaidika-Padānukrama-Koṣa)* Being the Consolidated Reverse Index of vols. I-XIV, Ed. By Vishva Bandhu.

(ii) *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*

- No. 17 (a). *Atharvaveda-Padapāṭhādyanukramaṇī* (Alphabetical Index to the *Atharvaveda Pada-pāṭha* etc.), Ed. By Vishva Bandhu.
No. 32. *Cānakya-Saptati*, Critical Ed. By K. V. Sarma.

(iii) *Woolner Indological Series*

- No. 8. *Rājatarangīnī* of Kalhaṇa, New Critical Edition, By Vishva Bandhu, Pt. II.
No. 9. *The Changeable and Unchangeable in Religion*, By Jawala Prasad Singhal.

(iv) *Sarvadanand Universal Series*

- No. 46. *Moggalāyana (Pāli) Vyākaraṇa* with Hindi Translation, By Bhadant Anand Kausalyayan.
No. 48. *Jīvan Path-pradarśak* (Guide on the Path of Life), By Satya Deva, Pt. III.
No. 49. *Jīvan Kalā* (The Art of Life), By Nirmal Chandra.

(v) *Vishveshvaranand Indological Paper Series*

- Nos. 130 to 146. Being the papers included originally in the *VII* III. i (March, 1965).

(vi) *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, III. i (March, 1965).

(vii) *Viśva Saṃskṛtam*, II. iii-iv (May and August, 1965).

(viii) *Vishva Jyoti*, XIII. i-vi (March to August, 1965).

(b) The under-mentioned works were being seen through the Press :

1. *A Grammatical Word-Index to the Principal Upaniṣads*, Ed. By Vishva Bandhu.
2. *R̥gveda* with the four unpublished commentaries of Skandaśvāmin, Udgīthācārya, Mudgalācārya and Venkṭaṭa-Mādhava, Ed. By Vishva Bandhu, Pt. VIII.
3. *Brāhmaṇoddhāra-Koṣa*, being a comprehensive Citation Register of the entire Brāhmaṇa Section of Vedic Literature, Ed. By Vishva Bandhu.

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4. *Atharyavediya-Bṛhatsarvānukramaṇī*, Revised Critical Ed., By Vishva Bandhu.
5. *Rājatarangīṇīs* of Śrīvara and Śuka, Ed. By Shri Kanth Kaul.
6. *Lālā Lajpat Rai : Jivan aur Kāl* (Lala Lajpat Rai : Life and Times), By Mohan Lal.
7. Uspensky, *Elementary Number Theory*, Hindi Translation By C. L. Parti.

(c) About a dozen other works were being text-edited and processed for the press.

Chandigarh Sub-Office

(a) *Dictionary of the Himalayan Dialects*. The work of consolidating the materials which had been compiled for the Dictionary was started. The 21 Pahārī and 6 Kāshmirī dialects included in the Dictionary were put together into three groups : (A) The six main Pahārī dialects, viz., Bhadarwāhī, Khāsī, Khāsi, Khasālī, Bhalesī and Pāḍarī, and the 10 minor Pahārī dialects ; (B) The six dialects of the Kāshmirī language ; and (C) The five dialects of the Kāngrā district. Glossaries of Groups (B) and (C) (Kāshmirī and Kāngrā dialects) had already been consolidated. Their alphabetical arrangement, inter-dialect order and meanings were taken up for being checked up towards making the treatment uniform. The six glossaries, which, too, had already been prepared for (A) were taken up for being consolidated into a single glossary. For this purpose the work of preparing the cards and arranging them in alphabetical order was undertaken. About 22,500 cards were prepared and arranged in alphabetical order, completing the Group (A) glossary of words from the Roman letter 'a' to part of 'k', including the phonetic variations of these letters.

(b) *Summary of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*. The editorial revision of this work was regularly pursued and considerable progress was made. The *Summary* of three out of the eleven volumes of the *LSI* has been finalised.

(c) *Ancient Indian Phonetic Terminology*. Substantial progress was made in the basic work of the preparation of the *Annotated Phonetic Terminology of Ancient India*, 207 terms from the *Rk-Prātiśakhya* were further studied and annotated upon, bringing the total number of terms thus treated of to 1644.

(d) *Philological Extracts*. 502 pages of the typescript of the extracts compiled from standard works on philology were checked with the original texts.

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Visit of the Central Sanskrit Board Commission

A one-man Commission consisting of Dr. S. Bhattacharya was appointed by the Central Sanskrit Board to study the various aspects of the working of the Institute and the facilities available towards assessing its potentialities for higher studies and research in Sanskrit. The Commission visited the Institute on May 4, 1965.

Collection of Manuscripts

54 manuscripts were added to the previous corpus of 9,067 bringing the total to 9,121.

Transcription and Collation of Manuscripts

30,853 *granthas* (of 32 syllables each) were transcribed from 15 unpublished manuscripts. 19,600 *granthas* of transcribed matter pertaining to 4 works were collated with other manuscripts of those works.

Bibliography of Indological Dissertations

The preparation of an Annotated Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations on Indological subjects, made or being made ready at various centres in India and abroad, was undertaken to serve as a source of ready reference for researchers and students of Indology. The bibliographical cards prepared so far in this behalf number 225.

Hindi Sahitya Sārīṇī (Bibliography of Hindi Literature)

About 7,500 basic cards were further prepared for this work which is intended to be an exhaustive bibliography of published Hindi literature. The total number of basic cards prepared so far stands at 37,526.

Translation into Hindi

(a) *Internal work.* Revision of the translations of *The Heart of the New Thought* by Ella Wheeler Wilcox and *A Story of Indian Culture* by Principal Bahadur Mal was completed. Translations of *Shri Krishna : His Philosophy and His Spiritual Path*, *Dayanand—A Study* and *Mental Health in Theory and Practice*, all by Principal Bahadur Mal, *Benjamin Franklin* by Carl Van Doren and *Fairy Tales* by Hans Anderson remained under revision.

(b) *External work.* Of the five English books assigned by the Central Hindi Directorate to the Institute for translation into Hindi, the translation and vetting of two, viz., *Elementary Number Theory* by Uspensky and *Statistical Methods* by G. W. Snedacor were completed. The vetting of the translation of two other works, viz., *A Manual of Foreign Exchange* by H. E. Ewitt and *Mathematical Methods* by Herald Cramer, also, was in progress.

Anthology of Hindi Literature

The first draft of an *Anthology of Modern Hindi Literature*, with Text in Devanagari and its English Translation printed on opposite pages, was completed.

College Department

All the 12 students who were sent up for the M.A. (Sanskrit) Final Examination held in April-May, 1965 passed, 6 of them in the First Division. The 2nd and the 4th positions in the University were secured by our students. Both the students who sat for the Preliminary M.A. (Sanskrit) Examination were successful. Out of the 8 students who appeared for the Shastri Preliminary Examination, 7 were declared passed, and of the 9 sent up for the Shastri Final Examination, 8 were successful.

Education Convention

Shri Gurdas Singh and Shri Suresh Chandra attended on behalf of the Institute the Education Convention which was held under the auspices of the Panjab Educational Forum, on the 18th July, 1965 at Jullundur.

Sarasvatī Samāj (Literary Circle)

During the monthly meetings of the *Sarasvatī Samāj* of the Institute, presided over by the Director, the following speakers gave the respective talks noted against each of them.

26. 3. 1965 : Shri Bhadra Sen : Vedic support to the principles of Social Equality.
30. 4. 1965 : Shri Diwan Chand : Interpretation of the word *kāsmāi* in the Vedic verse *kāsmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema*.
28. 5. 1965 : Shri Hans Raj : Physical Forms and Names of Viṣṇu.
25. 6. 1965 : Shri Sacchidanand Ojha : Expressive Potencies of Words.
30. 7. 1965 : Shri Ram Pyara : Physical Exercise and Health.
27. 8. 1965 : Shri Parmanand Gupta : Concept of Patriotism.

Special Programmes

13. 2. 1965 : Shri Brahm Dev, Research Scholar at the Physical Laboratory of the University of Groningen, Holland, gave an informative talk on "The Determination of the Age of Organic Fossils by means of the Radio-active Carbon Test."
4. 5. 1965 : Dr. S. Bhattacharya, Professor of Sanskrit, Banaras Hindu University, presided and spoke when Shri Indra Datt Uniyal read a paper on "An Exposition of the *Asatkārya-vāda* (Negation of Pre-existence of Effect)".

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16. 6. 1965 : At a group meeting on the "Distinctive Features of the Systems of Indian Philosophy" held under the presidency of the Director, about a dozen members of the Academic Departments took part.

Essay Competition in Sanskrit

Seven essays in Sanskrit on diverse subjects pertaining to Vyākaraṇa and Darśana were received for a competition open to the scholars of the Institute. The First Prize of the value of Rs. 80/- was awarded to the paper "*Svopajñam Pāṇineḥ Śāstram*" by Pt. Amar Nath Shastri and the Second Prize of the value of Rs. 50/- to the paper "*Śāśvatī Caitanyasattā*" by Shri Virendra Shastri. These Prizes were presented to the two winners by the Director in the meeting of the Sarasvatī Samāj held on 26. 3. 1965.

Mahtama Hansraj Centenary

The Birth Centenary of the late Mahatma Hansraj, the distinguished patriot, social reformer and educationist who had been the Honorary Founder-Principal of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, was celebrated in a fitting manner on April 18, 1965. His sacred memory is especially cherished by the Institute as he was one of the Prime Sponsors of its reorganised establishment at Lahore in 1924. The celebration was presided over by Principal Rala Ram, M. L. A., and addressed, mainly, by Dr. G. L. Datta, Shri Mastan Chand and Acharya Vishva Bandhu, all of whom had the privilege of having sat at the feet of the Mahatma and worked under his guidance and in intimate association with him.

Reception to Dr. G. L. Datta

On the evening of April 17, 1965, a reception was held at the Institute in honour of Dr. G. L. Datta, Vice-Chancellor of the Vikram University, Ujjain, President of the D. A. V-College Management and Trust Society, New Delhi, and Executive Life-Member of the V. V. R. Institute Society.

At Home to Dr. S. Bhattacharya

The Members of the staff of the Institute were At Home to Dr. S. Bhattacharya, Professor of Sanskrit, Banaras Hindu University, on May 4, 1965 when he visited the Institute on behalf and for the purposes of the the Central Sanskrit Board.

Vishva Satsanga (Universal Cultural Congregation).

Through the meetings of the *Vishva Satsanga* held regularly on Sunday evenings, the Institute continued to maintain its direct contact

with the cultured public of the town. The gist of the proceedings of these meetings also continued to be regularly published in the Institute's Hindi monthly organ *Vishva Jyoti* for the benefit of the Members of the Institute and the general public everywhere. Several of these meetings were held in the form of special functions towards celebrating the Birthdays of Rāma, Krishna, Mahāvīra, Buddha, Vyāsa, Muhammad, Kabīr and Shivaji. One of these sittings was devoted to the celebration of the festivals of *Veda-Upākarma* and *Rakṣābandhan* and another condoled the demise of Mahātmā Devi Chand:

Other Functions

15. 8. 1965 : In the presence of the staff and students of the Institute and members of the public specially assembled for celebrating the *Indian Independence Day*, the National Flag was hoisted by Shri Sant Ram, who, in the meeting that followed, spoke on the significance of the occasion.
10. 9. 1965 : At a special meeting, the gravity of the undeclared war situation being caused by the continuous aggression on the part of Pakistan was brought home to the audience and the safety measures and precautions to be taken at times of air-raids were indicated and explained.

Visitors

Of visitors and scholars who visited the Institute during the last six months, mention may be made of : Svami Sanatan Devji (Vrindaban), Svami Pranavanand Puri (Nabha), Shri Pyare Lal Jain (Amritsar), Shri Harbans Lal (Jullundur), Vaidya Nityanand (Bundi, Rajasthan), Acharya Atridev (Jullundur), Syts. Brahma Kumar and Jagadish Chand (Mt. Abu), Bhagat Gururam Das, M. L. A., (Hoshiarpur), Shri Jagdev Singh Siddhanti, M. P. (New Delhi), Shri Hans Raj (Ahmedabad), Svami Hari Singh Shastri (Sangrur), Shri Mukunda Lal Phakka (Dhariwal), Shri R. C. Bhandari (Jullundur), Shri Daulat Ram Sharma (Jaipur), Prin. V. S. Gosvami (Haryana), Prin. Shyam Sundar Lal Mehra (Bilaspur), Profs. Kartar Singh (Gurdaspur), Shambhu Nath Sharma (Jammu), Karan Singh (Jullundur), Drs. Hans Raj (Rishikesh), P. Harnati (Canada), Mehta Vasishth (Ludhiana), Ved Mitra (New Delhi), Prin. Sri Ram Sharma (Uña), Shri M. K. Narasimhaiya, Dr. C. L. Dhawan and Shri D. C. Midha (Amritsar), and Syts. Bhadant Anand Kausalyayan and Medhankar (Ceylon).

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They are no more !

11. 3. 1965 : Shri Gaurishankar Joshi (Dhoomaketu), eminent Gujarathi writer, at Ahmedabad, at the age of 73.
31. 3. 1965 : Shri T. N. Bhaskara Thondaman, well-known Tamil writer and founder of the reputed Tanjore Art Gallery, at his home-town of Tirunelveli (Madras), at the age of 61.
2. 4. 1965 : Pt. Ramagya Pandey, noted Sanskrit and Pali scholar, author of several books, and former member of the U. P. Legislative Council, at Narhi (U. P.), at the age of 80.
17. 4. 1965 : Shri Jaidayal Goenka, religious leader, philanthropist and founder of the well-known Gita Press, at Gorakhpur and Gobind Bhawan at Calcutta, at Rishikesh, at the age of 80.
4. 4. 1965 : Prof. G. H. Bhatt, General Editor of the Rāmāyana Department, and former Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, at Baroda, at the age of 64.
3. 5. 1965 : Prof. Otakar Pertold, Czech authority on India and for many years Professor of Comparative Religions at the Charles University, Prague, at the age of 81.
5. 5. 1965 : Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao, Professor of Philosophy and founder of the Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore, at the age of 65.
13. 6. 1965 : Prof. Martin Buber, noted Jewish Philosopher, at Jerusalem, at the age of 87.
17. 6. 1965 : Vaidya Vidyadhara Vidyalkar, writer and editor of Ayurvedic texts, at Hyderabad.
18. 6. 1965 : Pt. Vishva Priya Shastri, well-known grammarian and formerly Professor, Gurukul Ghaggar, at Delhi, at the age of 50.
18. 6. 1965 : Pt. V. M. Ganesh Bhatta Sane, well-known Vedic scholar of Maharashtra, at Poona.
24. 6. 1965 : Pt. Babu Shastri Sondhye, erudite Sanskrit scholar of Maharashtra at the age of 80.
26. 6. 1965 : Shri Satyadev Vidyalkar, eminent Hindi writer and journalist at Delhi, at the age of 67.
29. 6. 1965 : Swami Dhruvanand, well-known social leader, President of the Sārvadeśika Ārya Pratinidhi Sabhā (International Aryan League) Delhi, at Bombay, at the age of 82.

4. 7. 1965 : Mahātmā Devi Chand, great educationist and social leader, President of the Dayānand Salvation Mission, Hoshiarpur, at Delhi, at the age of 83.
4. 9. 1965 : Dr. Albert Schweitzer, humanist, medical missionary and promulgator of the new philosophy of 'Reverence for life', at Lambarene (Gabon, French Equatorial Africa) his Central African retreat, at the age of 90.

Scholars honoured

Certificates of Honour in Sanskrit were awarded by the President of India on May, 20, 1965, to Panditaraja D. T. Tatacharya (Tirupati), Dr. Satkari Mookerjee (Calcutta), and MM. Pt. Parameshwaranand (Delhi), and the same in Persian was awarded to Kazi Abdul Wadood (Calcutta).

The President's Certificates of Honour in Sanskrit were announced on the Indian Independence Day (August 15, 1965) to the eminent Sanskrit scholars, Acharya T. A. Venkateswara Dikshitar (Bombay), Dr. Mangal Dev Shastri (Varanasi), Pt. Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrav (Poona) and Dr. Radha Govinda Basak (Calcutta) and the Arabic scholar Dr. Muhammad Abdullah Muid Khan.

Recognition to Vedic Scholarship

The Government of Maharashtra honoured on March 1, 1965 five eminent Pandits of the State for maintaining the age-old oral tradition of the Vedas. Shriyuts M. G. Purohit (Dt. Kolhapur); N. T. Lele (Dt. Satara), S. R. Patankar (Bombay), U. A. Majalgaonkar (Dt. Jalna) and Bhaooshastri Arvikar (Dt. Nagpur) were presented with a purse of Rs. 1000/- each and a Scroll of Honour at a special function held at Bombay under the presidency of Shri P. V. Cheriyan, Governor of Bombay.

Rabindra Awards

The Rabindra Awards instituted in memory of Poet Tagore by the Government of Bengal for outstanding work in Bengali, were given, for the year 1964, to Dr. Sukumar Sen for his *Bhāratīya Sahityer Itihas*, Shri Gajendra Kumar Mitra for his *Paus Phāguner Pālā* and Shri Sachindranath Basu for his *Prāgaitihāsik Mānush*.

National Professor of Library Science

The Government of India has appointed Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, authority on library science, as the National Professor of Library Science in India.

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Artiste honoured

Shri G. Venkatachalam, noted connoisseur and critic of Indian art, was elected, in March 1965, a Fellow of the Lalita Kala Akademi of India.

Protection of Mohenjodaro and Harappa

A UNESCO team of archaeological experts is engaged in saving the pre-historic Indus cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa which are threatened by soil erosion and sub-soil salt water-logging.

Nubian Temple

India contributed Rs. 28 lakhs towards the efforts being made by the UNESCO to protect the 3,000-year old Egyptian monuments of Nubia, being submerged by the rising waters of the Aswan Dam under construction.

Ancient Japanese Records

About half of the 15,000 ancient Japanese documents, including old parchments and coins, preserved in the Tokyo Ohbunsha Museum, was destroyed in a fire which raged through the building on March 6, 1965. One of the biggest losses was the copy of the work on Buddhist mysticism entitled *Hyakuman-Toadahrani* of Prince Shotoku, printed in A.D. 764 and believed to have been the oldest book carrying a print-date.

India-The Land and People

A 200-volume series entitled *India-The Land and People* has been started by the National Book Trust, India, New Delhi with the object of making available to the general reader standard books on India, its people, languages and literatures. The first three volumes of the series have already been released.

Haṭha Yoga in Poland

The First Conference on Haṭha Yoga in Poland was held in April, 1965 at Warza. It was organised, jointly, by the Central Board of the Polish Indian Friendship Society and the Society for the Propagation of Physical Culture, Warsaw. A committee was constituted at the conference for the propagation of Haṭha Yoga in Poland.

The Story of Writing

A 10-day Exhibition on the origin and development of the art of writing through the ages in the different parts of the world was held at the Rabindra Bhavan, New Delhi, from May 18, 1965. The Exhibition which is touring India at the moment, consists of 50 charts prepared at Amsterdam by the UNESCO and has been organised under the joint

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auspices of the UNESCO and the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with the UNESCO.

Indian Scripts

A series of seven weekly talks by specialists on the major script-systems of India, viz., Brāhmī, Devanāgarī, Assamese-Bengali, Tamil-Grantha-Malayalam-Vatteluttu-Koleluttu, Telugu-Kannada-Nandināgarī, Perso-Arabic, and Roman, was broadcast over the All India Radio during May and June, 1965. These talks were to be published eventually in book-form by the Government.

Institutes of Linguistics

During the fourth Five-Year Plan, Centrally sponsored Institutes of Linguistics are to be set up in the different linguistic areas of India in order to encourage the development of regional languages. A statutory body on the lines of the University Grants Commission will coordinate the work-programmes and administration of these Institutes. The project envisages research in the different regional languages and the production of literature, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, bilingual glossaries and translations of classics.

Indian Institute of Advanced Study

An Indian Institute of Advanced Study intended to be a centre for the "meeting of minds and commerce of ideas" and for project-oriented researches in humanities and social sciences, is to be inaugurated at Simla by the President of India on Oct. 20, 1965. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray will be the Director of the Institute.

Society for Tantric Research

A society named *Āgama Gaveṣana Saṅgha* (Society for Tantric Research) was started with offices at Dehra Dun and Varanasi under the presidency of Dr. B. L. Atreya.

Gītā Library

An extensive library of Gītā-literature, as available in all the languages of the world, is being set up by the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam, Tirupati.

Academy of Library Science and Documentation

The Indian Academy of Library Science and Documentation was inaugurated at the State Central Library premises in Hyderabad on April 2, 1965.

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Oriental Studies in Peru

An *Institute of Oriental Studies* with its purview extending over the different Asian cultures, including Indian, is to be formed from 1966, by an extension the present Instituto Peruano de Altos Estudios Islamicos, Lima (Peru).

National Status for Library

The Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna, well known for its collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts and books is to be declared a national institution by an act of the Parliament.

Research in Ayurveda

The Government of India has, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Central Council of Ayurvedic Research, instituted one senior and four junior prizes, annually, for the best scientific research in Ayurveda.

Bequest for the study of Ghalib

A bequest of Rs. 23.75 lakhs was made by Shri Attaullah Durrani, an Indian scientist emigrant to America, for research in and English translation of the writings of the Persian-Urdu poets, Ghalib and Meer.

World History on Wall-map

A *Historical Chart* designed by Shri S. C. Majumdar, Jalpaiguri (W. Bengal) presents on a single multi-coloured wall-chart the rise, fall and domination over one another of 40 principal nations of the world during the past 4500 years, with special reference to India. This chart has been accredited by the Inventions Promotion Board of the Government of India which has been established to foster inventive talent in the country and which has started in August 1965 a quarterly Journal called *Invention Intelligence* for making known new inventions.

Malayalam Lexicon

The first volume of the *Malayalam Lexicon* prepared on historical principles by the Kerala University, Trivandrum, is ready for publication. It covers over 1,000 pages in treating of the words beginning with the first letter of the alphabet.

Indian History from a new angle

A six-volume *Study of India from 1870-1939* sponsored by the Cambridge University and being produced under the joint authorship of Dr. Anil Seal of Cambridge and Dr. John Gallagher of Oxford, will explain, from a purely objective point of view, the motive forces behind the historical events. The First Part in three volumes, covering the period

from 1870 to 1918, by the former scholar, is said to be ready for publication.

Indian Inscriptions

A *Topographical List of Indian Inscriptions* is being compiled under a U.G.C. scheme at four centres, namely, the Universities of Calcutta (Dr. D. C. Sircar), Madras (Dr. T. V. Mahalingam), Mysore (Dr. M. Seshadri), and Nagpur (MM Dr. V.V. Mirashi).

Dictionaries of Indian Geography and Art

A *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* is being prepared in the U.G.C. Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture attached to the Calcutta University, under the supervision of Dr. D. C. Sircar. Under the same auspices, Prof. S. K. Saraswati is engaged in the compilation of a *Glossary of Technical Terms in Indian Art and Aesthetics*.

Hindi Dictionary

A dictionary of early Hindi of the 11th to the 16th century is under preparation by the K. M. Institute of Hindi Studies and Linguistics of the Agra University.

Dictionary of Indian Philosophical Terms

Under assistance from the University Grants Commission, a *Dictionary of Indian Philosophical Terms* of all the systems of ancient Indian Philosophy, orthodox and heterodox, is being prepared by Panditaraja D.T. Tatachariar in the S. V. University, Tirupati.

Bibliography of Hindi Books

An annotated *Bibliography of Hindi Books for Children* is under preparation by the National Council of Educational Training of the Central Ministry of Education. Our V.V.R. Institute is co-operating in the scheme by supplying its nearly 30 publications of its Children's Literature Section.

German Oriental Conference

The week-long Sixteenth German Oriental Conference of the Deutsche Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft (German Oriental Society) was held in August, 1965 at Heidelberg. Divided into ten Sections, the Conference was attended by about 400 scholars including delegates from India.

Seminar on Modern Sanskrit Literature

A 10-day Seminar on Modern Sanskrit Literature, 1600-1960, was held between the 21st and the 30th of May, 1965, under the auspices of the Saugar University.

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International Round Table of Archives

The Ninth Session of the International Round Table of Archives was held in London from the 20th to the 23rd April, 1965, the main subject for discussion being the application of modern methods of processing data to archival work.

2300 years of Jain Art

An Exhibition of Jain Art organised in the galleries of the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta, by the Bharat Jain Mahamandal, in April, 1965, displayed valuable Jain art miniatures, illuminated manuscripts, scrolls, sculpture, temple decorations, books and photographs.

Exhibition of Indian Miniatures

The Fog Art Museum of the Harvard University, Cambridge (Mass., U.S.A.), organised from 11. 3. 1965, an Exhibition of Indian miniatures dating from the 15th century A.D. aimed, among other things, at bringing out the relationship between the main schools of Indian Miniature Art, viz., Mughol, Rajasthani and Pahari.

Purāṇa Goṣṭhī

A 3-day Conference from September 1, 1965, was held in the Varanaseya Sanskrit University to discuss the supernormal powers (*siddhi-s*) as elaborated in the Purāṇas.

The three Pariṣads, devoted to *Kriyātmaka-siddhi*, *Jñānātmaka-siddhi* and *Ichātmaka-siddhi*, were presided over, respectively, by Swami Maheshvarananda, Pt. Ramachandra Shastri and Pt. Anant Shastri Phadke.

Hindi Parishad

The 21st Session of the All-India Hindi Parishad was held under the auspices of the Kurukshetra University on May 30 and 31, 1965, under the presidency of Dr. Ram Kumar Varma, Head of the Department of Hindi, Allahabad University.

Kerala History

A three-day Kerala History Convention was held at Ernakulam under the joint auspices of the Kerala History Association and the University of Kerala, from May 16 to 18, 1965.

Seminar on Malayalam Grammar

The Kerala and Annamalai Universities jointly convened a three-day Seminar on the Grammar of the Malayalam Language at Trivandrum from the 26th to the 28th of June, 1965.

World Congress of Jewish Studies

The Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies took place at Jerusalem in the Hebrew University from July 25 to August 1, 1965.

All-India Ayurveda Meet

A 3-day All-India Ayurveda Conference was held at Kanpur from the 5th of June, 1965.

All-India Library Conference

The Fifteenth All-India Library Conference, organised by the Indian Library Association, was held at Mysore under the auspices of the Mysore University from the 17th to the 19th June 1965. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Member, Planning Commission (Education), presided.

INSDOC Seminar

The Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre (INSDOC) of the Government of India held an All-India Seminar on Scientific and Technical Translation at Delhi from the 15th to the 17th of April, 1965.

Bibliography, Documentation, Terminology

The Third Session of the International Advisory Committee on Bibliography, Documentation and Terminology was held at Moscow from April, 6 to 9, 1965. India was represented at the Seminar by Dr. B. S. Kesavan, Director, INSDOC, New Delhi.

Seminar on Scientific Terminology

The Seminar on Scientific Terminology sponsored by the Central Government commenced its Session at Mussorie on the 21st May, 1965.

P. E. N. International

The 33rd International P. E. N. Congress was held from July 1 to 7, 1965 at Bled (Yugoslavia). India was represented at the Congress by Prof. Anant Kanekar from Maharashtra.

All-India Cultural Conference

The First Session of the All-India Cultural Conference convened at the initiative of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Andhra Pradesh, was held from Jan. 31 to Feb. 2, 1965 at Hyderabad under the presidency of Shri. R. M. Hajarnavis, Union Minister for Cultural Affairs.

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Books Exhibition

An Exhibition of Books published in 1964 was held at Bombay in July, 1965 by the Publishers' World, Poona. A sumptuous catalogue entitled *Books in 1964* was released on the occasion. Our V. V. R. Institute participated in the Exhibition by sending its 1964-publications.

Indian Monuments in Warza

A photographic Exhibition of India's historical monuments was inaugurated at Warza on June 9, 1965 by Mr. Zygmunt Garstecki, the Polish Deputy Minister of Culture and Art.

Coming Events

1. *World Sanskrit Conference* at Allahabad in January, 1966.
2. The Second Session of the *All-India Jain Darshan and Sanskriti Parishad*, organised by the Shri Jain Swetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha, Calcutta, on October 15 to 18, 1965.
3. The 27th Session of the *Indian History Congress* at Allahabad from December, 28 to 30, 1965.
4. UNESCO-sponsored *Asian Seminar of Museographers*, in India from Jan. 30 to Feb. 27, 1966.
5. The 31st *Congress of the International Federation of Documentation (F. I. D.)* in Washington, D. C., from October 10 to 16, 1965, under the joint auspices of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council of the U.S.A.
6. The Third *Seminar of the Documentation Research and Training Centre* at Bangalore from the 19th to the 23rd December, 1965 under the direction of Dr. S. R. Ranganathan.
7. The Sixth Biennial Session of the *Indian Association of Special Libraries and Information Centres (IASLIC)* at Trivandrum from the 27th to the 31st December, 1965, under the auspices of the Kerala University.
8. An international conference named *Vision 65* at Carbondale (Illinois, U. S. A.) on October 21-23, 1965, under the joint auspices of the International Centre for the Typographical Arts and the Southern Illinois University.
9. Seventh *International Congress of Libraries and Museums of the performing Arts*, from 6 to 9, September, 1965, at Amsterdam, Netherlands.

10. The First *National Book Fair* of India in Dec. 1965-Jan. 1966, at Bombay, under the auspices of the National Book Trust, India, New Delhi.

11. The first *Conference-Seminar of the International Association of Tamil Research*, at Kuala Lumpur, from April 17 to 23, 1966, under the auspices of the National Education (Indian Schools) Development Council of Malaya and the Malaya University, Kuala Lumpur.

It may be recalled that this Association came into being on Jan. 7, 1964, at New Delhi, on the occasion of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, and is presided over by Dr. J. Filliozat (Paris).

12. *Punjab History Conference* at Patiala, from November 12 to 14, under the auspices of the Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University.

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भारते होशिआरपुरे, वि. वै. शो. सं. मुद्रागृहे ।

शास्त्रिणा देवदत्तेन संमुद्राप्य प्रकाश्यते ॥

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THE VEDAS AND ŚĀSTRAS

A GENERAL VIEW

By

VISHVA BANDHU

होशियारपुरम्

HOSHIARPUR

विश्वेश्वरानन्द-वैदिक-शोध-संस्थानम्

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सर्वेऽधिकाराः सुरक्षिताः

प्रथमं संस्करणम् , १९६५

प्रकाशकः—विश्वेश्वरानन्द-वैदिक-शोध-संस्थानम्
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THE VEDAS AND ŚĀSTRAS

A GENERAL VIEW

I. Importance of Sanskrit

In the words of Jawahar Lal Nehru, "the finest heritage of India is the Sanskrit language and literature. This is a magnificent heritage and so long as this endures and influences the life of our people, so long the basic genius of India will continue." As William Jones declared about 200 years ago, Sanskrit is "more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either." Not only has it provided a rich medium for the expression of the countless ideas and the highest ideals which the people of India have conceived and pursued during the past ages, but it has also deeply influenced and effectively moulded the varied cultural patterns of millions upon millions of peoples living in so many other lands extending in all the four directions, thousands of miles beyond the frontiers of India.

It is a veritable mirror of Indian civilization and culture, being the repository of a mass of literature which has given expression to the intellect and the spirit of India in her progressive march through the great creative ages. This literature is copiously rich in religion, philosophy, law, linguistics, aesthetics, fine arts, positive and technical sciences, gnomic and didactic verse and *belles-lettres*. It easily transcends in extent anything which any other ancient or mediaeval literature could show. At the top of it, a very large proportion of it possesses an extraordinarily high quality which has to be taken into account in assessing its importance not only for the people of India but for the entire mankind.

It is, however, not merely a classical language, just enshrining the ancient literature of India. It is much more and something of much greater significance. As a language it is an instrument of the greatest

precision in the delineation of all thought-processes, however deep and subtle, and of all forms of aesthetic and emotional perception as well as of spiritual intuition and experience. Its study involving the rigorous dialectics of its grammar and different systems of philosophy forms an intellectual discipline of the highest order. As a most sonorous and most musical language, it makes a never-failing appeal to the deeper aesthetic sensibility of one and all. In sooth, it has the power to lift us above ourselves, which is one of its most subtle aesthetic and dynamic appeals.

Up-till very recent time, Sanskrit as a force that welled out from within suffused all aspects of Indian life with the waters of a hidden stream of power and beauty, making them flourish with vigour. Intellect of India found its culmination in it and, in its turn, it has been and still is the one common reservoir from which all the later Indian and many Greater-Indian languages have been drawing their sap and sustenance.

Sanskrit has always been effective in binding together, culturally, the people living in all the parts of India. In this unifying force of Sanskrit lies its paramount importance for India of the present day. The more this perennial substratum of emotional oneness and cultural harmony will flourish, the less the fissiparous propensities, which being a part of the game could not be totally ruled out, will find it possible to exercise their evil influence towards undermining the political unity of the country.

In view of all this, therefore, it augurs well for Bharat of to-day and to-morrow that Sanskrit stands recognized in its Constitution as one of its National Languages, concurrently, alongwith its modern spoken regional languages and that the Union Government are quite alive to the great need of gradually adding more and more to the strength of Sanskrit in the educational and cultural set-up in the country. They have, however, yet to devise effective ways and means to secure for Sanskrit its proper place in the Secondary Education Scheme, may be, by re-interpreting the Three Language Formula for this purpose. It is feared that unless this is done, all other efforts, otherwise, however commendable, might, in the long run, prove to have been like spraying the leaves at the top and douching the trunk and branches in the middle of a tree without watering its roots deep down in the ground below.

II. The Vedas

The Vedas occupy a unique position in the whole range of the literatures of the world. A grand monument of the hoary past of Āryāvarta, they have come down, much better and much more extensively preserved than any other extant ancient literature. Their natural and lucid style, racy flow, terse and pithy maxims, noble utterances, soul-stirring sentiments, deep and sweet notes, brilliant metaphors, sublime similes, living depiction of character, romantic personification of nature and other sterling qualities of diction and significance have always secured for them a place of high honour and deep veneration among the ancient literary treasures of mankind.

The Vedas are four in number, namely, the *R̥gveda*, being the "Book of Devotional Verse", the *Yajurveda*, being, basically, the "Book of Sacrificial Prose-Formulas", the *Sāmaveda*, being the "Book of Psalms" and the *Atharvaveda*, being the "Book of Mystico-therapeutic Priestcraft." It is on record that at one time there were extant 21 collections, each known as the *R̥gveda*, 101 collections, each known as the *Yajurveda*, 13 collections, each known as the *Sāmaveda* and 9 collections, each known as the *Atharvaveda*. Description of *Sāmaveda* as 'having 1000 ways' (*sahasravartman*) in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (cf. *sahasravartmā sāmavedaḥ*, *Paspasāhnikā*, ed. Keilhorn, Vol. I, p. 9) and as 'having 1000 varieties', in *Caranavyūha* (cf. *Sāmavedasya kila sahasra-bhedāḥ*, III, 1), is to be understood in the present context as a reference to the practically innumerable ways of singing the *mantras* of the *Sāmaveda* and not as any indication of the actual presence at some time of its text-recensions in such an incredibly large number. All these collections or *Samhitās*, as they were called, were equally held in the highest esteem. Each of these was, however, most authoritative in the academy where, in particular, the teachers and the taught looked upon it as their *svādhyāya*, that is to say, their own (*sva*) Vedic text (*adhyāya*) and performed its recitation as their most sacred daily obligation to be attended to without any other ulterior motive (*niṣkāraṇa*).

The *Sakhās*, as the Vedic texts, were designated (<✓**sakh* 'read', a variant of ✓ *śas*), grouped four-fold, under the generic names of the four Vedas differed within the sphere of each Veda, from one another, to a varying degree, in their wording as well as the nature and arrangement of

their contents and in the intonation as prescribed for their formal recitation. Each of these *Śakhās* was the original Veda of the name that it bore, equally and parallelly with every other *Śakhā* of that Veda. There never existed any other text, besides this and the other *Śakhās* of the Veda, which one might describe as the original Veda of that name and liken to the trunk of a tree and conceive of its *Śakhās* as its offshoots or branches. As already indicated, these textual-variations (*Śakhās*) of the *Samhitās* of the four Vedas, altogether, numbered 144. Out of these, only 13, to wit, 2, which between themselves are practically identical, of the *Rgveda*, 6 of the *Yajurveda*, 3 of the *Sāmaveda* and 2 of the *Atharvaveda*, have been able to stand all the ravages of time and the onslaughts of vicissitudes and come down to us in script, with about one-half of them still claiming to have quite a few families that are preserving and practising their respective ancient methods of recitation.

The *Rgveda*, in Śākalya's redaction, which alone is generally studied in these days, consists of 10,552 verses (*ṛcaḥ*) spread, altogether, over 1028 Hymns (*Sūktāni*) which are found arranged into ten Books (*Maṇḍalāni*). The Books II-VII which among themselves account for 429 hymns, were composed, respectively, either by the six poet-seers, Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmīra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja and Vasiṣṭha themselves or their descendants. The 103 hymns of the Book VIII originated in the families of Kaṇvas and the Aṅgirasah. The Books I and X with 191 hymns each and the Book IX with 114 hymns were composed by the scions of quite a large number of the families of the Vedic ṛṣis including the mentioned ones. While the hymns in the Books I-VIII and X extol the quite many different godheads of the Vedic pantheon like Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Soma, Savitr and Uṣas, the whole of the Book IX is dedicated to Soma alone. The Vedic ṛṣis in pouring out from the bottom of their heart their divine songs which, in the main, had been inspired, apparently, by the external aspects of the mysterious Nature, were conscious, all the while, that all these phenomena were but symbols, mere names, of the One, the mystery of all mysteries, being the noumenon that ever stood behind, around and within all that was apparent (*ékaṁ sād viprā bahudhā vadanti*, I, 164, 46 ; *ékaṁ vā idāṁ vi babhūva sārvaṁ*, VIII, 58, 2). Among the hymns of the *Rgveda*, there are also a few which are, expressly, of philosophical, ethical, social, domestic or historical interest. In Vedic terminology, the content-title of each ṛk was designated as its *devatā*. It was either a personified godhead like Agni or an abstract concept like *Sraddhā* 'Faith' or any other object like *akṣā* 'dice' that might be the subject of direct address or indirect description towards its eulogy or censure.

The *ṛsis* were great adepts in the art of weaving the web of their highly alliterative and effectively figurative descriptions, clothing their spiritual effusions against the background of the prevailing ritual. While the *Rgveda* presupposed the prevalence of and lent its own authority, too, to that already pretty complicated ritual of offering (*yajña*) to and through the Fire of varied oblations, mainly, consisting of clarified butter (*ājya*), soma and cookings (*pāka*), the *Yajurveda* appeared on the scene to meet the practical need of supplying a handy collection of the directive prose, formulas (*yajūṃṣi*) which, along with the prescribed *ṛcaḥ* from the *Rgveda* had to accompany the actual performance of every sacrifice (*yajña*). It also contained the portion known as the *brāhmaṇa* which supplied necessary expositions and explanations of the word and the content of the said ritual formulas (*yajūṃṣi*) and, occasionally, also of the *ṛk* accompaniments. Of the six available recensional collections (*śakhā-saṃhitāḥ*) of the *Yajurveda*, the four, namely, those pertaining to the Taittirīya, the Maitrāyaṇa, the Kāṭhaka and the Kapiṣṭhala families of priest-poets are constituted, in this way, of the said three elements, namely, the prose formulas (*yajūṃṣi*), the prescribed verses (*ṛcaḥ*) and the exposition (*brāhmaṇam*). The remaining two available collections which pertain to the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva families of the Vājasaneyins have retained only the first two elements, namely, the prose formulas and the prescribed verses and eschewed the expository section. As the latter two texts are, comparatively, simpler in their composition, they are called 'pure' (*Śukla*) and the former four texts being, comparatively, of more admixed constitution are named 'mixed' (*Kṛṣṇa*). The terms *Śukla* and *Kṛṣṇa* being homonymic, also, denote 'white' and 'black', respectively, but not, as generally understood, in the present context.

The Vedic people were very fond of music. Their entire speech bore musical accent which made it extremely sweet and sonorous. The tradition that the verses selected from the *Rgvada* for being sung during the interludes of the sacrificial sessions had been set to music in a thousand ways bespeaks the wide popularity enjoyed and the great standardization reached by the sacred music in that remote past. The collections (*saṃhitās*) of the basic *ṛcaḥ* which when set to music became the *sāmāni* 'psalms' bore the generic name of the *Sāmaveda*. Only three *saṃhitās* of the *Sāmaveda* pertaining to the *śakhās* of the Kauthumas, the Rāṇayaniyas and the Jaiminiyas are now extant. Of these, the first-named alone is generally studied. It contains, altogether, 1875 basic *ṛcaḥ*. Out of these, 104, which are not found in the extant *Rgveda*, must have been taken from some other redaction of that Veda that has not come down to us.

From the quite frequent use in Sanskrit literature of the terms *trayo Vedāḥ* 'the three Vedas' and *trayi-vidyā* 'the triple lore' to designate the Vedas, it is sometimes held that in the beginning only the *Rgveda*, the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* enjoyed the canonical status and that the *Atharvaveda* was accorded this honour after a long period during which it must have struggled very hard for it. But this seems to be an erroneous view because the said two terms might quite plausibly be held to refer to the three forms, namely, the *ṛk* 'verse', the *yajuḥ* 'prose' and the *sāman* 'psalm' of the entire or main contents of the four Vedas. Thus, the *Rgveda* was so named because it was, wholly, in verse, the *Yajurveda*, because prose formulas constituted its real content and the *Sāmaveda* because it contained only such verses as were meant to be sung as psalms. The *Atharvaveda* being a mixture of prose as well as verse, therefore, came to be known after the name of its prime composer, Atharvan whom the *Rgveda* itself (I, 80, 16) remembered with great respect as an ancient hymnist of the first order. The *ṛṣi* families of the Atharvāṇaḥ, Aṅgirasah and Bhṛgavaḥ who, in the main, developed the *Atharvaveda* were kinsmen of the other Vedic *ṛṣis* and held in equally high esteem. The *Rgveda* (VIII, 6, 18) refers, with awe, to the great penances which they were accustomed to perform to have mystic experiences and, also, to develop miraculous powers to help those who had faith in them and crush those who stood in their way. It attributes (X, 97, 6) to their specialisation in the art of healing which they practised through the use of *oṣadhi* 'medicine', *mantra* 'charm' and *maṇi* 'amulet' and employs the words *jāta-vidyā* and *chandas* (X, 71, 11; 90, 9) to designate the 'spells' and 'charms' which as the most efficacious agencies of driving away the evil effects of adverse black magic (*abhicārā*, *kṛtyā*, *māyā*, *yātū*) formed the distinctive sections of the *Atharvaveda*. Later on, it seems, this Veda had to pass through a period when it became rather neglected, presumably owing to its priests having become the dread of the people on account of their supposed powers to harm others and had therefore to fight against heavy odds to regain its lost prestige. This it seems to have done by incorporating in its body the matter representing over one-third of its present extent, which resembled or was identical with the contents of the *Rgveda* being related to the gods and the mystic revelations, often marked by surpassing sublimity and exuberance. This Veda has come down to us in the two recensions of the Pippalādas and the Śunakas, each consisting of the books I-XX, the entire extent being about two-thirds of the *Rgveda*.

As mentioned above, the Vājasaneyins had their *Yajuḥ-Saṃhitā* which they styled as *śukla* (pure) in that they had kept apart from it its theretofore usual *brāhmaṇa* (expository) constituent. They preferred

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to develop this section, separately, and named it as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. On account of its fine and finished language and copious and systematic treatment it proved to be a model production, being veritably, the envy of the *ṛṣi* families attached to all other *śākhās*. So, the latter in their turn composed a large number of like works. Some of these have come down to us, being the *Aitareya* and the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas* of the *R̥gveda*, the *Tāṇḍya*, the *Jaiminīya*, the *Daivata*, the *Ṣaḍviṃśa*, the *Arṣeya*, the *Samavidhāna* and the *Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇas* of the *Sāmaveda*, the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirīyas* of the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurvedins*, besides the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in its both slightly varying recensions of the *Madhyandinas* and the *Kaṇvas*.

While the *Brāhmaṇas* were concerned, primarily, with the prescription and exposition of the Vedic ritual as such, the compositions known as the *Āraṇyakas* from their having first appeared as the supplementary appendages (<*ārambhāna* 'clinging') to the *Brāhmaṇas* carried on and further developed the philosophic tradition of the Vedas in discussing its esoteric and figurative aspects. These treatises were concerned not so much with the actual performance of the various sacrificial ceremonies as with the inquiry into their symbolical significance and its bearing on individual and social life towards attainment of its highest values. The works of this class which are extant today are the *Aitareya* and the *Śaṅkhāyana Āraṇyakas* of the *R̥gveda*, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* of the *Sukla Yajurveda* and the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*. The belief that these texts derived their name from the deep recesses of forests (*araṇya*) where, it is supposed, they had to be studied has hardly any foundation in fact, being just a piece of fanciful popular etymology. The appellation *Āraṇya-Kāṇḍa* given to the supplementary appendage of the 55 psalms (586-640) at the end of the First Part (*Pūrvārcika*) of the *Sāmaveda* rested on the same basic concept of 'clinging', but that literary piece had nothing else in common with the *Āraṇyaka* literature.

From the historical point of view of literary development, the *Āraṇyakas* were really a bridge-like intermediate link between the *Brāhmaṇas* with their predominantly ritualistic content and the *Upaniṣads* which carried forward and further developed the living seeds of mystic symbolism, imaginative allegory, colourful poetry and contemplative philosophy which the primeval *ṛṣis* had first sown in the fertile soil of the Vedic *Samhitās*. The *Upaniṣads* brought into bold relief the importance of mystic experience (*samādhi*), realization (*tattva-jñāna*) and emancipation (*mokṣa*) to be achieved as the blossoming consummation of

sincere (*śrad̥dheya*), regular (*nirantara*) and patient (*dirgha-kāla*) practice of a life of Yoga characterised by restraint (*yama*), austerity (*tapas*) and renunciation (*tyāga*). All these moral and spiritual concepts had been essentially indicated in the *Samhitās* but these were presented afresh by the *Upaniṣads* with special emphasis on them. Their occasional fling at the hollowness of ritual formalities which, too, had been anticipated in the *Samhitās*, was directed not so much against ritualism as such as against the popular propensity to feel like becoming emotionally exhilarated and spiritually satisfied, albeit only momentarily, by indulging in pompous ceremonialism which the priesthood of the time, as evident in the *Brāhmaṇas*, was eulogising beyond compare, obviously, very much in its own vested interest, even to the extent of propounding that the *mantras* did not possess any literal meaning and that what mattered was their correct pronunciation which was full of all potentiality for good to ourselves and our friends and harm to our enemies according to the ritualistic context of their utterance. Thus, although the *Upaniṣads* paved the way for the development, later on, of both the so-called orthodox and heterodox systems of religion and philosophy, their own particular emphasis lay on what has since been known as *Vedānta*, connoting, in a general way, the *anta*, in the sense of the real, esoteric significance and not the concluding portion, as is generally held, of the Vedas. Over 200 Sanskrit texts are known as the *Upaniṣads* today. Out of that number, not more than one-tenth may be said to be directly related to the *Vedas* while the rest represent the various sects which developed, later on, in a generic way, within the orbit of the Vedic tradition. Of the whole lot, the *Īśa*, the *Kena*, the *Kaṭha*, the *Praśna*, the *Mundaka*, the *Māṇḍūkya*, the *Taittiriya*, the *Chāndogya*, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the *Śvetāśvatara*, the *Kauṣītaki* and the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣads* have been held in the highest esteem.

The above-mentioned four constituents of the Vedic literature, namely, the *Samhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads* were collectively known as the *Veda* or the *Śruti*. The latter name seems to have developed from the basic concept of 'speech' (<√**śṛ* being a variant of √*śṛ*) and was, therefore, different from the other word *Śruti* in the sense of 'hearing' (<√*śru* 'hear').

III. The Vedāṅgas

There grew up on the basis of and around the primary traditional literary corpus of the *Śruti* or the Veda another quite respectable mass of literature, partly, in prose or in verse and, partly, in *sūtras* (aphorisms) being a peculiar style of composition which had been specially developed for this purpose and was characterised by extreme brevity consistent with unambiguousness. This literature consisted of the text-books (*anuvāsanās*) pertaining to the many disciplines (*śāstras*) which had been developed either as aids to the correct study of the Vedas or as systematising codes of the Vedic ritual or as new scientific, philosophical, sociological and technological enunciations springing, ultimately, from the ever deepening mental concentration on the contents of the *Śruti*. This secondary literature bore the generic appellation of the *Śāstra*. It was also called the *smṛiti* as it had been the result of hard 'thinking' (<√*smṛ* *cintayām* and *ādhyāne* 'recollect').

The six *Śāstras* which had direct bearing on the correct recitation and right understanding of the Vedic texts and on the exact performance and actual observance of the Vedic ritual were known as the *Vedāṅgas*. This appellation seems to have referred to their being *āṅgas* or treatises of scientific and definitive nature (<√*āṅg* *lakṣaṇe* 'indicate') and not to have been related to the other homophonic word *āṅga*- in the sense of 'limb'. These *Śāstras* were never recognised as constituent parts of the Vedas. That follows is a short account of the origin and development of these *āṅgas*.

The mysterious working of the phenomenon of human speech, on the physical as well as the mental plane, seems to have inspired the Vedic sages and, evidently, this led to its apotheosis at their hands. They, however, besides singing songs in praise of Speech (*Vāc*) as a Divinity, also found out how each word that they spoke was being produced by the mechanism of their chest, throat and mouth. They, likewise, went deep into its constitution to discover the secrets of its organic evolution and to understand how it gave the sense in which it was used.

When incident to the ever increasing difficulties of mutual contact among the various sections of the families of the Vedic *ṛṣis* owing to the great distances that gradually came to separate them, there sprang up

differences in the pronunciation of the Vedic texts, a general need seems to have been felt of laying down some definite rules in order to fix one system of recitation, at least, within the orbit of each major recension (*śākhā*). Several groups of leading reciters might have met and discussed the issues involved and, finally, agreed upon certain uniform modes of pronunciation. Generalization of the standardized elements of pronunciation, euphony and phonetic change formed the basic content of the Science of Phonetics (*Śikṣā*). Similarly, the conception of the parts of speech and the formulation, in general, of the peculiarities of declension, conjugation, primary and secondary derivation, composition and accent led to the development of the Science of Grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*). Likewise, the comparative study of the meanings of the synonyms, the homonyms and the other elements of speech and the speculations regarding the origins thereof formed the foundation of the Science of Etymology (*Nirukta*).

These three sciences were the earliest to assume definite shape because all of them owed their conception to the gradually intensified exigency of correct recitation and correct understanding of the Vedic texts. Thus, they were inter-related, forming, so to say, the three links of the chain of the Ancient Indian Science of Language (*Śabda-śāstra*). The seed-like allusions to these sciences are traceable in the *Samhitās*. Their further development is evident in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas*. The *Upaniṣads* clearly record their regular study having already become included in the curricula of the Vedic seminaries.

Quite a large number of the ancient Text-books of Phonetics (*Śikṣā*) have come down to us. Of these, those ascribed to Āpiśali, Nārada, Pāṇini, Yājñavalkya, the Bharadvājas, the Maṇḍukas, and the Śisīras only have so far received some editorial attention. These as well as the rest still need being critically edited.

No pre-Pāṇini Text-book of Grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*) is extant today. That many earlier works on this science had also their day is however vouched for by Pāṇini himself who cites no less than ten previous authorities, namely, Āpiśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Galava, Cākravarmanā, Bhāradvāja, Śakaṭāyana, Śakalya, Senaka and Sphoṭāyana. Besides, the memory of about a dozen other masters (*ācāryas*) like Indra, Bhāguri, Pauṣkarasādi, Cārāyana, Kāśakṛtsna, Vaiyāghrapadya and Vyāḍi has come down to us in a number of other works. Evidently, Pāṇini with his most wonderful feat of having squeezed the entire field of both the Vedic, and the Spoken Sanskrit (*bhāṣā*) of his day within a compass of just about

30,000 syllables must have eclipsed all of them and gradually risen to his unrivalled position of being the sole authority in this domain. As the time has passed and the vogue of Sanskrit become more and more restricted to its employment only as a literary medium, the stamp of Pāṇini, supplemented and foolproofed by Kātyāyana who wrote the *Vārttikas* and Patañjali who wrote the *Mahābhāṣya* on his *Sūtras* has come to be universally and ever increasingly acknowledged as the exclusive determinant of standard idiom (*Śiṣṭa-prayoga*). Indeed, Patañjali's said work itself is composed in a style which has ever been regarded as an unsurpassed model of simple but dignified prose diction. Bhartṛhari formulated, a few centuries later, in his *Vākya-pādiya* the conceptual philosophy that had gradually developed in respect of this *Śāstra*.

The growth of the linguistic text-books known as the *Prātiśākhya*s might be assigned to the period when the Vedic schoolmen were busy with fixing the texts of their respective *Śakhās*. These text-books, in their contents, are of mixed type, being, partly, of phonetic and, partly, of grammatical nature. They treat, mainly, of phonology, euphony, accent and the conversion of the *Samhitā* into the *Pada*, the *Krama* and the other Transformations (*Vikṛtis*) and, only in some of them, of metre also. Of the nine of these text-books, which are extant in these days, one each pertains to the *Rgveda*, the *Yajurveda* of the Vājasaneyins, the Taittirīyas, and the Maitrāyaṇīyas, three to the *Sāmaveda* and two to the *Atharvaveda*.

The working field of the Vedic etymologists (*nairuktas*) was an extension of that of the grammarians (*vaiyākaraṇas*). They took upon themselves the double task of etymologically rationalizing the use of those Vedic words (*padas*) which expressed accepted meanings and proposing the meanings, on etymological grounds, of those others which having become obsolete or obscure could not otherwise be explained or understood. They, in the first instance, drew up the Lists (*Nighaṇṭus*), named so, probably, on account of their chain-like texture ($\langle \text{nir}\sqrt{\text{g}}(*h)\text{ranth}$ 'link up') of the words with their meanings indicated, as known and accepted, and of the words without indication of their meanings because they were not known with certitude. Two of these *Nighaṇṭus* have come down to us, namely, the one which is ascribed to Kautsavya and pertains to the *Atharvaveda* and the other which pertains, mostly to the *Rgveda* and bears the stamp of Yāska himself in its final redaction and serves as the basic text for his commentary (*vyākhyā*) on it which goes by the name of the *Nirukta* being in the form of a Text-book of Etymology (*nirvacana*). This work has come down to us as the unique representative of the Vedic Science of Etymology which, as the world's pioneer in this direction, it enunciates, expounds and illustrates in a wonderfully realistic and standardized

manner. From the references made by Yaska to the names and opinions of a number of earlier authorities in his line, it is, however, obvious that etymological studies had already become quite advanced long before he appeared on the scene and that although he surpassed all his seniors, he himself was really standing on their shoulders. Indeed, to this day, India legitimately holds her head high and takes due credit for having produced in that remote past so many linguisticians of a very high calibre whose numerous original contributions to the sciences of phonetics, grammar, etymology and semantics are looked upon with respect and awe even by the modernmost savants in these fields.

Although no exclusive work on Vedic metre (*chāndas*) has come down to us, yet, probably, some manuals of this science might have been drawn up and set into vogue at a quite early date. For, the *Rgveda* itself which is the earliest known treasury of verse already contains not only a rich variety of often quite complicated metrical composition but also indications of its acquaintance with the nomenclature of metres and the technique of their composition. Thus, in X, 15, 16 it specifies the *Triṣṭup* and the *Gāyatrī* metres which represent, respectively, the two characteristic cadences, namely, the trochaic and the iambic, of the Vedic metres to all of which it then makes a general reference (*chāndāṃsi sārva*). Again, in X, 114, 6 it alludes to the 12 (*ā-dvādaśam*) prominent Vedic metres, to wit, the *Gāyatrī*, the *Uṣṇih*, the *Anuṣṭubh*, the *Bṛhatī*, the *Pañkti*, the *Virāj*, the *Triṣṭubh*, the *Jagatī*, the *Śakvarī*, the *Atiśakvarī*, the *Aṣṭi*, and the *Atyaṣṭi* consisting of 24, 28, 32, 36, 40, 40, 44, 48, 56, 60, 64 and 68 syllables, respectively, with each foot (*pāda*) of these measuring out, varyingly, to the maximum extent of 12 syllables and, further on, in the verse 9 it refers to the ingenuity required for making a metrical composition (*vōga*). The available Vedic indexical manuals, namely, the *Rk-sarvānukramanī*, the *Atharva-sarvānukramanī* and the *Bṛhaddevatā* briefly describe, in general terms the various Vedic metres which they name, specially, in respect of each verse of the texts dealt with by them. As already mentioned, some of the phonetico-grammatical *Prātiśākhya*s like the *Rk-Prātiśākhya* and the *Nidāna-sūtra*, also devote separate chapters to the treatment of the Vedic metres. The earliest text, exclusively, on this subject is Pīṅgalā's *Chandaḥ-sūtra* which systematically describes both the Vedic and the classical metres.

The primary Vedic literature consisting of the *Samhitas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads* presupposes the prevalence among and around the people that produced it of fairly developed conceptions and well established traditions of the practice of morals,

religious sacrifices and formal ceremonies, suffusing its life at all levels, individual, domestic, social and political. Held as prescribed by tradition, documentary or oral, these practices bore the generic names of *Dhárman* and *Kárman* both of which were synonymous. Another synonym of these was the term *Kalpa* which designated, in common, the vast body of auxiliary writings composed towards systematic preservation, presentation and prescription of the said moral rules, customary practices and sacrificial and ceremonial rites. Of these compendia, the *Dharma-sūtras* codified the personal, the domestic and the socio-political rules of conduct (*dharma-vyavahāra*) which had either been expressly taught by the sacred texts or were indicated by the manners and customs which had come down from generation to generation. From and around these rules has developed, in course of time, the vast literature comprising the *Dharma-śāstras*, the *Smṛtis* and the *Nibandhas* being the original authorities behind the indigenous jurisprudence and administration, in consonance with it, of law and justice in India. The extensive Vedic (*Śrauta*) sacrifices (*yajñāḥ*) like the lunar *Darśa-paurṇamāsa*, the seasonal *Caturmāsya*, the general *Agniṣṭoma* and others which required oblations being made of clarified butter (*ājya*) and soma-juice alongwith plant and animal offerings to the Fire-God in His own right and as a medium of approach to the other Gods were treated of in the *Śrauta-sūtras*. The actual performance of these rites was preceded by the construction in the open of platform-like altars (*vedīs*) of varied designs (*citis*), built of unbaked bricks. Separate places were provided therein for kindling the three sacrificial fires (*tretāgni*), the main one called the *Āhavanīya* being placed in the east with the other two, namely, the *Gārhapatya* in the west and the *Dakṣiṇa* in the south. At the outset, the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) would nominate (*varaṇa*) the priests (*ṛtvij*s) including the four principal ones, namely, the *Hotṛ*, the *Udgātṛ*, the *Adhvaryu* and the *Brahman* alongwith their about a dozen strong team of severally designated assistant priests who, then, would proceed, ceremoniously, to churn (*√manth*) the sacrificial fire out of the two logs (*araṇi*) of attritable wood and to deposit (*ā √dhā*) it place-wise. Some of the *Śrauta-sūtras* also had the Mensuration Section (*Śulba-sūtra*) as an appendix at the end, specifying the necessary measurements and describing the method of constructing the various types and portions of the altar (*vedi*). These supplements may thus be said to represent the earliest Indian contribution to the Science of Geometry. The remaining constituent of the *Kalpa*, namely, the *Gṛhya-sūtras* dealt with the comparatively simpler rites and ceremonies like the five daily sacrifices (*mahāyajñas*) and the sixteen sacraments (*samskāras*) performed on such occasions as conception

(*garbhadhāna*), birth (*jātakarman*), tonsure (*muṇḍana*), investiture with the sacred thread (*yajñopavita*), educational initiation (*vedārambha*), graduation (*dikṣānta*), marriage (*vivāha*) and obsequies (*antyeṣṭi*). The domestic sacred fire (*gṛhyāgni*) and the family priest (*purohita*) only were required for the performance of these rites and ceremonies. In general, these three-fold *Kalpa-sūtras* supply copious details regarding the social and economic organisation, the everyday life, the system of government, the administration of law and justice, the marriage laws, customs, rites and festivities, the maternity and child-welfare sacraments, the system of education, the daily, periodical and special sacrifices, the funeral rites and the offerings to the forefathers. The *Kalpa* works which are available at this time represent among themselves about two dozen Vedic Recensions (*Śakhās*). A mention may be made of *Āpastamba*, *Kaśyapa*, *Gautama*, *Viṣṇu*, *Vāsiṣṭha*, *Vaikhānasa*, *Sumantu* and *Hiranyakeśin* among the *Dharma-sūtras*, of *Āpastamba*, *Āśvalāyana*, *Kāthaka*, *Kātyāyana*, *Jaiminiya*, *Drāhyāyana*, *Baudhāyana*, *Mānava*, *Lātyāyana*, *Vādihla*, *Varāha*, *Vaikhānasa*, *Vaitāna* and *Hiranyakeśin* among the *Śrauta-sūtras* and of *Āgniveśya*, *Āpastamba*, *Āśvalāyana*, *Kāthaka*, *Kauṣṭiki*, *Kauśika*, *Gobhila*, *Jaiminiya*, *Drāhyāyana*, *Baijavāpa*, *Baudhāyana*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Mānava*, *Varāha*, *Vaikhānasa* and *Hiranyakeśin* among the *Gṛhya-sūtras*.

Living as they did in the loving lap of nature and in deep communion and perfect harmony with it, the Vedic poet-philosophers could not have missed being attracted, moved and inspired by the silent but wonderful drama being ever enacted in the heavens by the glories of the sun, the moon and the stars. Their romantic songs of these glories reveal their having already marked and studied the numbers, the movements and the placements of those ever watchful guardians of the upper world. *Rgveda* speaks of the stars (*nakṣatras*) fleeing before the advancing rays of the sun like the thieves before the chasing guards (I, 50, 2), apparently, leaving behind none of any sure indication to reappear at dusk (X, 117, 7). *Varuṇa* is said to have shaken the heaven to throw up the stars to over-spread it with them (VII, 86, 1). Elsewhere, (X, 117, 7), too, it alludes to them as the decorations (*kṛśānas*) of the heaven. It knows them as 34 in number, probably, including the sun, the moon, the 5 planets and the 27 constellations, all looking bright but moving, each, at a different pace (X, 55, 3). It possibly refers to them also as 36 in number, may be, with the addition of the ascending and the descending nodes (X, 114, 6). *Atharvaveda* (XI, 7, 2) seems to have held a tradition of astral observation that the *Gandharvās*, probably, meaning the heavenly luminaries in general, numbered 6333. It also designates the planets moving in the

THE VEDĀNGAS

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sky (*divicarah*) as the *Grāhas* (XIX, 9, 7). *Rgveda* (V, 40, 5-9) mentions the ascending node as *Svārbhānu*, being 'one that throws mask (*bhānu*)' over the Sun (*Svār*). *Atharvaveda* (XIX, 9, 10) attributes both the solar and the lunar eclipses (*grāhaḥ*) to the same agency, naming it as *Rāhu*. It devotes two hymns (XIX, 7 and 8), exclusively, to the appeasement of stars (*nakṣatras*) in general.

Astronomy and astrology, together known as *Jyotiṣa* (*Mundakopanishad* 1. 1, 5) or *Nakṣatravidyā* (*Chandogyopanishad* 7, 1, 2, 4 etc.) was recognised as a subject of regular study quite early in the history of Vedic India. The people would always ensure that their religious ceremonies were being performed at the correct time as prescribed and also that whatever they did was being done at a very auspicious moment (*muhūrta*). Naturally, this led to the early adoption of professional practice in this line. *Yajurveda* (30, 10) and *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* (3, 4, 4, 1) recognized the profession of the astrologer (*nakṣatradarśa*) as one of the respectable learned avocations of the day and, in particular, associated it with erudition (*prajñāna*). Any full text-book of this Vedic science, if ever drawn up, has however not come down to us. The *Vedānga-Jyotiṣa* which is available to-day is just a practical manual, rather a scrapbook, mainly, defining, on the basis of the date (*tithi*) and the relevant positions of the Sun, the Moon and the *Nakṣatras*, all those 48-minute units of time (*muhūrtas*) which being of inauspicious disposition should be avoided. It is a subsidiary text consisting of 36 stanzas in its redaction associated with the *Rgveda* and of 44 stanzas in that associated with the *Yajurveda*. From the archaic terminology employed in it, it seems to have been compiled towards the close of the Vedic period long before the mediaeval masters of classical *Jyotiṣa* made their *début*. The *Ātharvaṇa-jyotiṣa* which is also available, is, however, a much later compilation. It consists of 167 stanzas, divided into the five chapters treating of (1) *Muhūrta*, (2) *Karāṇa*, (3) *Tithi*, (4) *Vāra* and (5) *Nakṣatra*, successively.

The *Gārgi-saṃhitā*, named after its author and, probably composed in the second century B.C., deals, in its available form, only with astrology. In the early centuries of the Christian era, there was a marked advance in the sphere of astronomy as reflected in the large number of works called the *Siddhāntas*, the *Tantras* and the *Karāṇas* of that period. Of these texts, the *Sūrya-siddhanta* alone is now available, but many others are indicated by references to them in later accounts. *Āryabhaṭa*, born in 476 A.D. wrote his *Āryabhaṭīya* in 499 A.D. The theory, held by some previous astronomers, that the earth rotates on its axis is mentioned by him with disapprobation. His younger

contemporary, Varāhamihira who had started writing c. 505 A.D. summarized in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* the five astronomical *Siddhāntas*, attributed to Sūrya, Puliśa, Pitāmaha, Romaka and Vasiṣṭha and also wrote a number of astrological works like *Bṛhajjātaka*, *Laghujātaka*, *Yogayātrā*, *Bṛhadvivāhapāṭala* and *Laghu-vivāhapāṭala*. His *magnum opus*, however, was *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. While it serves as a mine of information on a wide range of subjects such as geography, agriculture, horticulture, architecture, iconography, zoology, and astrology, it is at the same time a veritable *Mahākāvya*, very often displaying exuberant poetic excellence and mastery of grammar and prosody which the great author had made his own. His fame as a poet was justly recognized by the authoritative anthologists who included quite a few of his verses in their compilations. Bhāskara I (6th cent.) wrote a *Bhāṣya* on *Āryabhaṭīya* and, also, wrote his own *Mahābhāskariya* and *Laghubhāskariya*, the latter of which was commented upon by *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa* (825-900). Brahmagupta, born in 593 A.D., wrote his *Brahma-sphuṭasiddhānta* in 628 A.D. and *Khaṇḍanakhādyaka* being a *Karāṇa*, in 665 A.D. Muñjāla followed up, in c. 950 A.D. with his *Laghumānasaganita*, Vateśvara in c. 1000 A.D. with his *Vateśvara-siddhānta* and Bhāskara II in 1150 A.D. with his *Siddhānta-siromani*. The first two sections, namely, *Līlāvati* and *Bījaganita* of the last mentioned work deal with arithmetic and algebra, respectively, and its remaining two sections, namely *Grahaganita* and *Gola* treat of astronomy. Parameśvara revised and standardised in his *Dṛgaganita* (1431 A.D.) the Kerala system of *Parahita* which had been promulgated by Haridatta (683 A.D.).

Among themselves, the Ancient Indian master-minds in the allied fields of mathematics and astronomy made some epoch-making discoveries, notably, those of the zero sign, of the decimal place-value system, of the use of the minus sign and of the use in algebra of letters of the alphabet to denote unknown quantities. Ten formed the basis of enumeration even at time of *Rgveda*. The time and number sense of the ancient Indians was extraordinary. They had a long series of number-names for very high numerals. The Greeks, the Romans, the Persians and the Arabs had apparently no terminology for denominations above 10^3 or, at the most, 10^4 . In India there was in vogue a terminology for denominations of the high order of 10^{18} . At the other end of the scale there was minute division of time, of which the smallest unit was approximately $\frac{1}{17}$ of a second.

विश्वेश्वरानन्द-वैदिकशोध-संस्थान-प्रकाशनम्—३६०

विश्वेश्वरानन्द - भारतभारती - ग्रन्थमाला—३४

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परमेश्वरविरचितम्
ग्रहणमण्डनम्

THE GRAHANAMANDANA
OF PARAMESVARA

CRITICALLY EDITED WITH A TRANSLATION

By

K. V. SARMA, M.A., B.Sc.

होशियारपुरम्

HOSHIAARPUR

विश्वेश्वरानन्द-वैदिक-शोध-संस्थानम्

Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute

सर्वेऽधिकाराः सुरक्षिताः

प्रथमं संस्करणम् , १९६५

प्रकाशकृत्—विश्वेश्वरानन्द-वैदिक-शोध-संस्थानम्
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FOREWORD

The *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* which is now being published as the Volume XXXIV of our *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*, is an important astronomical work dealing with the accurate computation of the solar and the lunar eclipses. Parameśvara, the author of this work, was an eminent mathematician and astronomer of his day (c. 1360-1455). He lived in Kerala where the *Parahita* system of astronomy was prevalent. By improving upon that system, he ushered in the new *Dṛk* system of his own. The basic work of this system, namely, the *Dṛggaṇita*, which was supposed to have been lost for ever, has been resurrected and already published in 1963 in our above-named *Series* as its Volume XXX.

This edition of *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* is based on six mutually independent palm-leaf manuscripts. The English rendering and the Sanskrit text of the verses are given on opposite pages. It is to be hoped that this arrangement will facilitate the study of this rather abstruse work.

I have pleasure in placing on record my appreciation of the good work done by Shri K. V. Sarma, the learned Editor of this volume in tracing out and securing the relevant manuscripts from the different public and private collections and preparing, on the basis of these, this critical edition which he is now offering along with a translation of the text. He has also prefixed this edition with an informative Introduction.

I am also thankful to our Publication and Printing Departments for the care they have taken in producing this neatly printed and well got-up volume.

VISHVA BANDHU
General Editor

V. V. R. INSTITUTE,
Hoshiarpur,
14th September, 1965.

INTRODUCTION

The *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* ('Ornament of Eclipses') presented here, in a critical edition, for the first time, is an important work of Parameśvara, the renowned Indian astronomer and mathematician of the 14th-15th century A. D.

Scope of the work

The *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* deals, in a hundred verses, with the accurate computation of the lunar and solar eclipses and their representation on graphs. The text belongs to the *Karaṇa*-type of astronomical works, and, as such, the calculations are commenced in this work from a recent zero date, arrived at by deducting from the current Kali date a large chunk (*Khaṇḍa*) of 16,48,157 Kali days, which corresponds to the Kali year 4512, Kaṭaka 17 or A.D. 1410, July 15 (*śloka* 5). The Mean positions of the Sun, Moon, Higher Apsis (*Pāta*) and Ascending Node (*Tuṅga*), which are required for the computation of eclipses, have been accurately calculated by the author for the above *Khaṇḍa* and given as the zero corrections or Additive Constants (*Dhruva-s*) (*śl.* 9-12) to be applied to their Mean positions as calculated from the zero date (*śl.* 5-8). The further *ślokas* enunciate the different corrections to be applied to the Mean positions and, thus, arrive at their correct positions at the Syzygies (*Parva-s*), the full moon or new moon, as the case may be (*śl.* 13-30). The method to check the possibility of eclipses on the *Parva*-days is also given, since further work might be done only in the case of those *Parva-s* where eclipses are possible (*śl.* 30-31).

The calculation of the orbital diameters of the Sun, Moon and the Earth's Shadow is enunciated next (*śl.* 31-35). The author has, here, an apt simile to illustrate the way in which the solar and lunar eclipses take place :

कुम्भान्तरेण कुम्भो यथा तथा छाद्यते रविः शशिना ।

वारिप्रवेशवत् स्यात् चन्द्रस्य छादनं तमसा ॥ 36 ॥

“(In the solar eclipse) the Sun is hidden by the Moon even as a (spherical) pot by another pot. (In the Lunar eclipse) the hiding of the Moon by the (Earth's) Shadow is like submergence in water.”

The methods for the actual computation of the eclipses of the Moon and the Sun, and the special work applicable only to the Solar eclipse take up the major part of the rest of the work (*śl.* 37-72).

Eclipse-Diagrams

Next is taken up the enunciation of methods to chart eclipses on plane geometrical graphs. Methods are given to convert measures of time into lengths and to construct the Eclipse-Graph using them and other data (§l. 73-87). Methods are given also construct Eclipse-Diagrams to measure off eclipses at any desired moment during their course (§l. 88-94).

Translation

The Translation of the *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* added to the present edition of the work and given alongside the textual verses, on the opposite pages, endeavours, to give a readable rendering of the verses, and also to elucidate the text by providing within brackets the words and ideas omitted from the *ślokas* but are understood from the context.

Scientific outlook of the Author

In the closing verses of the work (§l. 96-99) the author reveals a refreshingly scientific outlook which is remarkable in the case of a mediaeval writer. He has averred in the beginning of the *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* that he was setting out to compose the present work after watching the movements and positions of planets on numerous occasions (cf. *dr̥ṣṭvā golasya saṁsthitim bahuśaḥ*, §l. 3). Then again, in the beginning of his *Dr̥ggaṇita* he has made a similar statement :

“दृश्यन्ते विहगा दृष्ट्या भिन्नाः परहितोदिताः ।
 प्रत्यक्षविद्धाः स्रष्टाः स्युर्ग्रहाः शास्त्रेष्वितीरितम् ॥ I. i. 2 ॥
 ये तु शास्त्रविदस्तद्वद् गोलयुक्तिविदश्च तैः ।
 स्फुटखेचरविज्ञाने यत्नः कार्यो द्विजैरतः” ॥ 4 ॥
 सञ्चिन्त्येति, समालोच्य पूर्वतन्त्राणि यत्नतः ।
 स्फुटयुक्तिं खेचराणां गोलदृष्ट्या समीक्ष्य च ॥ 5 ॥
 स्फुटखेचरविज्ञानं शिष्यैर्यैः प्रार्थितं द्विजैः ।
 तेभ्यो दृग्गणितं नाम गणितं क्रियते मया ॥ 6 ॥

Elsewhere he says :

इति विस्तरतः प्रोक्तं ग्रहणं सोमसूर्ययोः ।
 दृश्यते तत्र दृग्मेदः काले विम्बे कदाचन ॥
 तिथिविम्ब (1315) समे शाके प्रारभ्य ग्रहणं मया ।
 अनेकमीक्षितं तेषु भिन्नः कालो दृशा मया ॥

 उक्तेभ्योऽन्ये चोपरागा मया दृष्टा विवस्वतः ।
 इन्द्रोश्च बहवो दृष्टास्ते तु नोदाहृता इह ॥

Mahābhāskariya-Bhāṣya-Vyākhyā (Ed. Madras, 1957) under V. 77.

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Then again, Nilakanṭha Somayājīn, who had taken his lessons both from Parameśvara and from Dāmodara, son of Parameśvara, and was thus Parameśvara's pupil and grandpupil, speaks of him : परमेश्वराचार्येण पुनः ग्रहणग्रहयोगादिकं यन्त्रैः पञ्चपञ्चाशद्वर्षकालं सम्यक् परीक्षितम् । (Nilakanṭha's *Āryabhaṭīya-Bhāṣya*, under *Gola* 48). Further down, in the same context, Nilakanṭha quotes from Parameśvara :

“ग्रहेन्द्राः पञ्चपञ्चाशद्वर्षकालं निरीक्षिताः ।
मया, तदा दृशा भिन्ना दृष्टाः परहितोदिताः ॥
उदाहरणमप्यत्र किञ्चित्तेषां विलिख्यते ।”

Now, this experimenter, thinker and practical astronomer, of high calibre pronounces the following judgment on the accuracy of the results arrived at through the computations enunciated by him in his *Grahaṇamaṇḍana*, which is a work of elaborate and painstaking labour :

कालोऽनेन च सिद्धः कदाचिदपि भिद्यते स्वरूपम् ।

“The times (of contact etc.) as obtained from (the calculations enunciated in) this work *may, at times, differ slightly* (from observation).” (*§l.* 96).

He goes on to quote, disapprovingly, Varāhamihira in this matter. Varāhamihira has stated in his *Bṛhatsaṃhita*, V. 25, that he had given the predictions for the effects of eclipses which occur outside their calculated times only to be in conformity with ancient authors, implying thereby that he does not believe that an eclipse could ever happen like that.¹ The observer and experimenter, *par excellence*, that Parameśvara is, he realises the limitations of Varāhamihira's calculation's, as also of those evolved up to his own time and also by himself, and, so, shrewdly suggests that the small differences observed at times must be due to factors that had not been taken into account or were not known to them. But, as a practical scientist and as one who had been able to enunciate many a correction, he is confident that it would be possible to postulate, as a result of further observation and experimentation, the necessary corrections by the application of which even the small differences found to occur at times could be eliminated. A remarkable statement indeed !

शास्त्रादलब्ध एकः संस्कारो ग्रहणकर्मणि रवीन्द्रोः ।
अस्त्येवेति च कल्प्यः गणकवरैर्युक्तिविद्धिरतः ॥
दृष्ट्वा बहूपरागान् सञ्चिन्त्य च गोलयुक्तिमिह गणकैः ।
कल्प्यः स तु संस्कारस्तस्माद् अथवा गुरूपदेशेन ॥

Grahaṇamaṇḍana, 98-99

1. On this see below, fn. 2 on p. 32.

Correction to the Grahaṇamaṇḍana

The researcher's outlook of Parameśvara and his continuous efforts at bettering his results are evident in his enunciation, in a later work of his, a correction to his *Grahaṇamaṇḍana*. This correction, to be applied to the Mean positions of the Sun, Moon, Apsis and Node, as obtained through calculations according to the *Grahaṇamaṇḍana*, is given at the close of his *Dr̥ggaṇita* with the introductory statement :

कार्यो ग्रहेषु ग्रहणमण्डनोक्तेष्वतः परम् ।
संस्कारस्, तं च वक्ष्यामि तत्र नोक्तं यतो मया ॥ *Dr̥ggaṇita*, II. 47

The verses enunciating this correction have been extracted and translated in an Appendix to the present edition of *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* (see pp. 36-37).

One may sense in our author the researcher's humility and understanding of the limitations of scientific investigations when he assesses, as follows, the worth of the *Dr̥ggaṇita*, his *magnum opus*, perfected, as indicated elsewhere in this Introduction (see pp. xi, xiii), after 55 years of labour :

एवं दृग्गणितं शाके त्रीषुविश्वमिते कृतम् ।
परमादीश्वरेणैतत् “प्रायो” भवति दृक्समम् ॥ *Dr̥ggaṇita* II. 46

Even here, Parameśvara is not prepared to go beyond saying that the results arrived at through his work would accord with actual observation *more or less* (*prāyah*).

Parameśvara, the Author

Parameśvara was a Ṛgvedi brāhman of the Āśvalāyana-sūtra and of the Bhṛgu-gotra and was a resident of the village of Ālattūr in South Malabar in Kerala. His house, Vaṭaśśeri, (Sanskritised into Vaṭaśreni), by which appellation he was often referred to by later writers,¹ was situated on the northern banks of the river Niḷā or Bhāratappuzha where it joined the Arabian Sea. The author refers to this in several of his works :

निष्ठायाः सौम्यतीरेऽब्धेः कूलस्थः परमेश्वरः ।
संक्षेपाद् गोलसंस्थानं वक्ति बालाय भार्गवः ॥ *Goladīpikā* (II), I. 2

At the end of the same work is given the actual location of Parameśvara's village, by its latitude and longitude :

समरेखायाः पश्चादष्टादशयोजनान्तरे ग्रामे ।
स्वरकृतषट् (647) तुलितेऽक्षे वसता ... ॥ *Ib.*, IV. 91²

1. See for instance, Sundararāja's *Vākya-karāṇa-Vyākhyā*, (Ed. T. S. Kuppanna Sastri and K. V. Sarma, Madras, 1962), pp. 8, 28, 93.
2. For similar statements, see also the Intro. verses to his Commentary on *Līlavatī*, the concluding verse of his Commentary on the *Sūryasiddhānta* etc.

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It was, thus, 18 *yojanas* to the west of the Central (Ujjain) meridian and had a Sine latitude of 647, corresponding to $10^{\circ}-51'$, north latitude.¹

Parameśvara does not give more of personal details, but mentions his teacher Rudra in several of his works. Nilakanṭha Somayājīn refers to two more of Parameśvara's teachers, viz., Nārāyaṇa and Mādhava :

परमेश्वरस्तु रुद्र-परमेश्वरात्मजनारायण-माधवादिभ्यो गोलविद्भ्यो गणितगोलयुक्तीरपि
वात्य एव सम्यग् गृहीत्वा तेभ्य एव क्रियमाणप्रयोगस्य दृग्विस्वादं तत्कारणं चावधार्य शास्त्राण्यपि
बहून्मालोच्य पञ्चपञ्चाशद्वर्षकालं निरीक्ष्य ग्रहणग्रहयोगादिषु परीक्ष्य सम-दृग्गणितं करणं चकार ।

(Nilakanṭha's *Āryabhaṭīya-Bhāṣya*, Gola. 48, Edn. Trivandrum Skt. Ser., No. 185, p. 154).

Of these two teachers, Nārāyaṇa could not be identified, but Mādhava has been identified with the reputed astronomer Mādhava, surnamed *Golavid*, (A.D. 1340-1425), belonging to the Saṅgamagrāma (Iriñjālakkuṭa in Cochin, Kerala) and author of an interesting astronomical manual entitled *Veṅṇāroha*.² Parameśvara's grandfather too seems to have been an astronomer of repute and was a pupil of Govinda, author of *Muhūrtaratna*. Parameśvara gives this information in his commentary on the *Muhūrtaratna* :

गोविन्दपूज्यपादेन कृपासंसिक्तचेतसा
मुहूर्तागमदुग्धान्धेर्मुहूर्तमणिर्दृढतः ।
तस्मिंस्तच्छिष्यपौत्रेण कियांश्चित् परमादिना
भावो विप्रियते स्वल्पम् ईश्वरेण यथाश्रुतम् ॥

Date of Parameśvara

In at least two of his works, Parameśvara gives the date of their composition. His *Dṛggaṇita* was composed in Śaka 1353, corresponding to A.D. 1431.³ He wrote his *Goladīpikā* (II) in Śaka 1365 (A.D. 1443).⁴ Nilakanṭha Somayājīn speaks of an astronomical observation by Parameśvara

1. This is referred to in some of his other works as well. See *Grahaṇamāṇḍana*, 14-15; *Laghubhāskariya-Vyākhyā* under I. 33 (*Anandasrama Skt. Ser.* No. 128, p. 12).

2. Ed. K.V. Sarma, Sanskrit College, Trippunithura, (Cochin), 1957, *Ravi Varma Granthāvali*, No. 6. On Mādhava, see Intro. to this edition.

3. Cf. एवं दृग्गणितं शाके 'त्रीषुविंश' (1353) मिते कृतम् ।

Dṛggaṇita, II. 46

4. Cf.शाकेऽक्षष्टत्रिचन्द्र (1365) मिते ॥

परमेश्वरनाम्नेयं गोलदीपिका रचिता ।

Goladīpikā (II), IV. 91-92

in Kali 4536 (A. D. 1445).¹ The long period of 55 years which Parameśvara spent in celestial observations and calculations before he codified his results through his *Dr̥ggaṇita* in A. D. 1431 would mean that he should have commenced his studies by about 1375. Presuming that he was not more than a boy then, his date of birth may be put around A. D. 1360.

An idea of the last years of Parameśvara is given by Nilakaṇṭha (born A. D. 1442),² who speaks of the former having been his teacher.³ Even supposing Nilakaṇṭha to have sat at the feet of Parameśvara at an young age, it must be around 1455. The above considerations would place Parameśvara between A.D. 1360 and 1455.

Works of Parameśvara

Parameśvara was a prolific writer, author of original works and commentaries covering all fields of Jyotiṣa. Several of his works are yet to appear in print. His works on astronomy are :

1. *Dr̥ggaṇita*, the author's *magnum opus*, a *Karaṇa* text, in two versions. Considered, to be lost for ever, but resurrected and edited recently through the *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*, No. 30. (Ed. K. V. Sarma, Hoshiarpur, 1963).

2. *Goladīpikā* (I), on spherical geometry and astronomy. (Ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1916, *Trivandrum Skt. Series*, No. 49).

3. *Goladīpikā* (II), in four chapters, on the same subject as above, but different from it, hardly 10 verses being common between the two. (Ed. and Trans. K. V. Sarma, Adyar Library, Madras, 1957).

1. Cf. भार्गवपरमेश्वरेण अस्मत्परमगुरुणा 'चलांशस्त्वम्' (4536) इति कल्यन्दे पञ्चदशांशपूर्तिर्निर्णीता ।

(Nilakaṇṭha's commentary on his own *Siddhāntadarpaṇa*, Ms. No. 975 of the Palace Library, Trivandrum, now deposited in the Kerala University Or. Mss. Library, Trivandrum. See the writer's paper, 'Gārgya Kerala Nilakaṇṭha Somayājīn', *Journal of Or. Res* 26 (1956-57) 37.

2. Cf. The date of his birth is given by him in his commentary on his *Siddhāntadarpaṇa* (op. cit.):

स्वजन्मकालज्ञापनोय चैवमुक्तम् । तदा अहर्गणश्च 'त्यजाम्यज्ञतां तर्कैः' इति ।

This Kali date, viz., 16,60 181, works out to December, 1442.

3. In his *Aryabhaṭīya-Bhāṣya*, *Golapāda*, Nilakaṇṭha quotes Parameśvara's *Goladīpikā* (II), III, 35 with the prefatory statement :

अत एवोक्तमस्मदाचार्येण गोलदीपिकायाम्—

(*Trivandrum Skt. Ser.*, No. 185, p. 27)

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4. *Grahaṇamaṇḍana*, on the computation of eclipses. (Ed. and Trans. K. V. Sarma, Hoshiarpur, 1965, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*, No. 34).

5. *Grahaṇa-Nyāyadīpikā*, on eclipses. (Unpublished. Mss. : Kerala Univ. Or. Mss. Lib. (KUOML), incomplete and unidentified in the miscellaneous folios towards the end of Ms. No. 762; another Ms. with the present editor.)

6. *Grahaṇāṣṭaka*, on eclipses, in 10 verses. (Ed. and Trans. K. V. Sarma, K. S. R. Institute, Madras-4, in their *J of Or. Res.*, 28 (1958-59) 47-60).

7. *Vākya-karaṇa*, on the methods for the derivation of the several astronomical tables. (Unpublished. Ms. KUOML C. 133-A).

Several of the standard works on astronomy and mathematics which were popular in Kerala have been commented upon by our author :

8. *Bhaṭṭadīpikā*, on the *Āryabhaṭīya* of Āryabhaṭa. (Ed. H. Kern, Leiden, 1874).

9. *Pārameśvara* on the *Laghubhāskariya* of Bhāskara (I). (Ed. Anandasrama *Skt. Series*, No. 128, Poona, 1946).¹

10. *Karmadīpikā* on the *Mahābhāskariya* of Bhāskara (I). (Ed. Anandasrama *Skt. Series*, No. 126, Poona, 1945).

11. *Siddhāntadīpikā* on Govindasvāmin's *Mahābhāskariya-Bhāṣya*. (Ed. T. S. Kuppanna Sastri, *Madras Govt. Or. Series*, No. 130, Madras, 1957).

12. *Pārameśvara* on the *Laghumānasa* of Muñjāla. (Ed. Anandasrama *Skt. Series*, No. 123, Poona, 1944).

13. *Vivaraṇa*, on the *Sūryasiddhānta* (Unpublished. Mss. : VVRI 2096 ; KUOML 8358-J; Govt. Or. Mss. Lib., Madras, R 3730).

14. *Vivaraṇa*, on the *Līlāvati* of Bhāskara (II). (Unpublished. Mss. : KUOML 10614-B; Madras, ib., R. Nos. 338, 5160, 13003; Adyar 68524).

15. *Vṛtti*, in verse, on an anonymous *Vaytīpātāṣṭaka*, a work on the calculation of the astronomical phenomena called *Lāṭa* and *Vaidhṛta*. (Unpublished. Ms. KUOML 788-D).

1. It has now been ascertained that the unidentified work called *Pārameśvarī* mentioned by me in the Introduction, p. xv, of the edition of the *Dṛggaṇita* is only this work.

16. *Vṛtti* on his own *Goladīpikā* (II). (Ed. K.V. Sarma, Adyar Library, Madras, 1957).

Primarily an author of astronomical works, Parameśvara has written also on astrology. His works in this field are :

17. *Ācārasaṅgraha*, a popular work, of which many Mss. are known in the KUOML and other South Indian collections.

18. *Jātakapaddhati*, on horoscopy. (Ed. Kolatheri Sankara Menon, Trivandrum, *Vaṅci Setu Lakṣmī Granthāvali*, No. 2 ; Ptd. also as Appendices under the headings *Balapiṇḍa* and *Āyurdāya* in the editions of *Jātakādeśa* by Kāṇippayyūr Śaṅkaran Nampūtirippāḍ, Kunnamkulam, M.E. 1102, and by V. N. Śaṅkunṇi Nāyar, Kunnamkulam, M.E. 1105).

19. Commentary on the *Muhūrtaratna* of Govinda. (Not published. Ms. KUOML T. 144).

20. Commentary on the *Jātakādeśa* of Śrīpati. (Not published. Ms. KUOML CM. 665).

21. Commentary on the *Praśnaṣatpañcāśikā* of Pṛthuyāśas. (Not published. Mss. : KUOML 5963, 12235, T. 612; Madras, *ib.*, D. 13964).

22-24. *Muhūrtastaka-dīpikā*, *Vākya dīpikā* and *Bhā-dīpikā*, which Parameśvara mentions along with some other works of his at the end of his commentary on the *Mahābhāskariya* are yet to be recovered

Manuscript Material

The present edition of *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* is based on five mutually independent palm-leaf manuscripts; all in the Malayalam script.

A. Ms. No. C. 166-D of the Kerala University Oriental Mss. Library, Trivandrum. Procured from Sri Subrahmaṇyan Mūttatu, Harippāḍ, it belonged originally to the family of Kaypañceri Tamprākkaḷ, one of the spiritual heads of the Nampūtiri brāhmins of Kerala, as indicated by an inscription on one of the folios : *itu Kaypañceri Tamprākkaḷ-ute grantham*. It is transcribed in T. 179-A of the KUOML and described in the *Descriptive Cata. of Skt. Mss. in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum*, vol. IV, pp. 1333-35. The Ms. is not dated but is much worn out and looks old. The codex contains a number of astronomical texts, all written in a uniform and minute but generally accurate hand by a scribe named Nilakaṇṭha who writes as follows at the close of one the works, viz. the *Pāṭigaṇitasāra* :

नीलकण्ठेन लिखितमिदं पुस्तकम्, आर्यभटादि-गणितसाराख्यमखिलम् । आर्यभट्टम्, महाभास्करीयम्, सूर्यसिद्धान्तम्, मण्डनम्, अष्टकम्, लीलावती, भास्करीयम्, मानसम्, प्रयोगरचना, त्रिशती च एतत्सर्वं नीलकण्ठेन लिखितम् ।

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- B. Ms. No. 339-D preserved in the private collection of the Vayaskara Illam, one of the eight principal hereditary Nampūtiri physician-families renowned as the *Aṣṭa-vaidyas* of Kerala. This codex also contains several astronomical tracts. It is undated but old and worm-eaten. The text preserved is generally free from errors.
- C. Ms. No. L. 1248-F of the KUOML. This codex too contains a large number of astronomical texts, several of these being works of Parameśvara. The Ms. is not dated, but is old and the leaves have grown brittle by age. The writing is legible and is generally correct.
- D. Ms. No. 788-B of the KUOML. Again a codex containing several works of Parameśvara. The Ms. is comparatively well preserved and accurate. It belongs to the 89-*śloka* version of the work.
- E. A manuscript presented to the editor by the late M. S. Srinivasa Sastri, eminent astrologer, Palghat; it belonged originally to the wellknown Nampūtiri family of Kūṭallūr, S. Malabar, Kerala. Well preserved and generally accurate, the Ms. represents the 89-*śloka* version of the work. The codex contains four other works of Parameśvara.
- F. Ms. No. CM. 333-C of the Curator's Office Collection (Malayalam Section) of the KUOML. The Ms. is old and much injured and belongs to the 89-*śloka* version of the work. The collation sheets of this Ms. were received after the text had been printed off. The variants from this Ms. are, therefore, given separately at the end of this edition.

The Two Versions of Grahaṇamaṇḍana

The *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* exists in two versions, one of 89 *ślokas* and the other of 100 *ślokas*, (actually of 91 and 102 *ślokas*, respectively, when the introductory and concluding verses are also taken into account). The first version concludes with the *śloka* :

परमेश्वरेण रचितं नवाधिकाशीति (89) सम्मितार्याभिः ।

एतद्विलसतु सुचिरं गणकानां ग्रहणमण्डनं हृदये ॥

and the second with the same *śloka* slightly altered to suit the metre when the number 89 is substituted by 100 :

परमेश्वरेण रचितं द्विजेन शत (100) सम्मितार्याभिः ।

एतद्विलसतु सुचिरं गणकानां ग्रहणमण्डनं हृदये ॥

The versions have distinct, though minor, differences in the readings of the *ślokas* but the the main difference lies in the occurrence, in the larger

version, of eleven additional verses, nos. 88-94, which enunciate a method for the construction of the Eclipse-Graph for any desired moment, and nos. 96-99 which voice the author's call to astronomers to postulate further corrections to enable eclipses as computed conform exactly with observation.

These additional *ślokas*, it may be noted, do not introduce much by way of new material. The 100-*śloka* version is generally better in the matter of readings, but does not betray any extraneous hand, as can be judged from the style, diction etc. of the *ślokas*. It seems that the work had only 89 *ślokas* when it was first composed and that, at a later date, the author himself effected a few revisions and added the 11 *ślokas* in question. The verbal change in the concluding *śloka* should also have been made then. It may be observed, in this connection, that there is nothing incongruent with this view, for we see something similar elsewhere too in the author's works. For instance, he has two versions of his *Dr̥ggaṇita*, one giving the figures according to the *Bhūta-saṅkhyā* notation and the other in the *Kaṭapayādi* notation. Similarly, he has two *Goladīpikā-s* (see above, p. xiv). In the same manner, he has three works on eclipses, the *Grahaṇāṣṭaka*, the *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* and the *Grahaṇa-nyāyadīpikā* which have, naturally, something in common.

Acknowledgement

In the present edition and translation of the *Grahaṇamaṇḍana*, I have received much help and advice from Prof. T. S. Kuppanna Sastri, lately of the Presidency College, Madras. I take this occasion to express my sense of indebtedness to him in this matter. To Dr. K. Raghavan Pillai, Curator of the Kerala University Mss. Library, Trivandrum, I am thankful for allowing the use of some of the manuscripts in the Library's collection and, particularly, for arranging for the collation of one of the Mss. (F) used for the edition of the work. Thanks are due also to Brahmasri N. S. Moose of the Vayaskara Illam, Kottayam, and to the late Sri M. S. Srinivasa Sastri of Palghat for graciously making available their manuscripts for use in this edition.

K. V. SARMA

V. V. RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
Hoshiarpur,
Janmāṣṭamī,
August 19, 1965.

परमेश्वरविरचितम्

ग्रहणामण्डनम्

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ORNAMENT OF ECLIPSES

Composed by

PARAMEŚVARA

(Invocation)

1. Victory to the Lord of the Day, the Awakener of the universe, by coming into contact with whose rays the Moon, Venus, the stars etc. are seen illuminated.

(Introduction)

2. Just as the reflection of one's face can be seen clearly in a mirror, the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon can be seen on the sphere.

3. Having learnt the *Laghutantra* and having observed on numerous occasions the positions of (the planets etc. in the celestial) sphere, the *Ornament of Eclipses* is being composed by me to be a delight to astronomers.

4. Since (the longitude etc.) of the Moon obtained through the *Parahita*¹ and other systems (of astronomy) do not tally (with observed values) in eclipses, I set forth, here, the derivation of the Moon etc. (using methods parallel to those) enunciated by some of the earlier teachers.

(Derivation of Mean Positions)

5. From (the *Khaṇḍa* obtained by) reducing the current Kali day by 16,48,157² the Sun's Mean position is got by multiplying it by 58 and dividing (the product) by 21,185.

1. A system of astronomical computation prevalent in Kerala and which Parameśvara revised in his *Dṛggaṇita*. For the basic text of this school see *Grahacāranibandhanam* of Haridatta, Ed. K.V. Sarma, K.S.R. Institute, Madras-4, 1954.

2. This *khaṇḍa* corresponds to Kali 4512, Kaṭaka 17 or A. D. July 15, 1410.

परमेश्वरविरचितम् ग्रहणमण्डनम्

[मङ्गलाचरणम्]

जयति जगतो दिनेशः प्रबोधकृद् यस्य भानुसम्पर्कात् ।
शशिभृगुजतारकाद्या ज्योतिर्दिप्ताः प्रदृश्यन्ते ॥ १ ॥

[ग्रन्थावतारः]

आत्मीयवदनबिम्बं प्रदृश्यते दर्पणे यथा व्यक्तम् ।
तद्वद् गोले ग्रहणं प्रदृश्यते चण्डभानुशीतांश्वोः ॥ २ ॥

विज्ञाय च लघुतन्त्रं दृष्ट्वा गोलस्य संस्थितिं बहुशः ।
गणकानां सन्तोषप्रदं मया ग्रहणमण्डनं क्रियते ॥ ३ ॥

यस्मादिन्दुर्ग्रहणे न संवदति परहितादिसिद्धोऽतः ।
इन्द्रादेरानयनं पूर्वं कैश्चित्प्रदर्शितं वक्ष्ये ॥ ४ ॥

[मध्यमानयनम्]

16,48,157

स्वरतिथिभुजङ्गसागरषड्विधुभिर्विरहितात् क्लेर्युगणात् ।

58

21,185

वसुबाणघ्नाद् भानोः शरवसुरुद्राश्विभिर्भवति मध्यम् ॥ ५ ॥

sl. 2. *pāda-s* ^{ab}) A. बिम्बाः प्रदृश्यन्ते. ^b) A.B.C. °णेषु for °णे.

3. ^a) A. om. च. D.E. read after sl. 3 the following two *śloka*s ; in D, the second *śloka* is enclosed by brackets, indicating its deletion :

परगुणसन्तप्तानां मानसकुसुमस्य (E. °कुमुदस्य) भानुबिम्बस्य ।

स्थूलमपीदं विद्याज् जयन्तमालिकातु सूक्ष्मतरम् ॥

सूक्ष्मोपरागगणना प्रदर्शितं सोपपत्तिकं पूर्वम् ।

लघुभास्करीयविवृतावधिकारसूत्रबुद्धिमतः ॥

4. ^a) A.C.D.E. °दिन्दुग्रहणे.

5. ^a) A. भुजग for भुजङ्ग. ^b) A. क्लेरब्दात् (corrupt). ^d) B. भवन्ति (corrupt).

6a. The Moon's Mean position is got by multiplying (the *Khaṇḍa*) by 143 and dividing by 3907.

6b. That of the Higher Apsis of the Moon is got by multiplying (the *Khaṇḍa*) by 4 and dividing (the product) by 12,931.

7a. The Ascending Node of the Moon is got by multiplying the *Khaṇḍa* by 3 and dividing (the product) by 20,378.¹

7b-8a. Divide the (elapsed) revolutions of the Sun by 283 for the Sun, of the Moon by 52, of the Higher Apsis by 11 and of the Ascending Node by 62. These are minutes.

8b. This is to be subtracted in the case of the Sun and (12° -Node), and to be added in the case of the Higher Apsis and the Moon.

(Additive Constants)

9. The additive constant for the Sun is $3^{\circ}-18'-15''-7'''$, correct to the seconds. For the Moon, it is $2^{\circ}-0'-17'-1''$, correct to the seconds.

10. For the Higher Apsis of the Moon, it is $2^{\circ}-5'-23'-18''$; and, for the Node it is $11^{\circ}-1'-41'-4''$, correct to the seconds.

1. These multipliers and divisors (*gunakāras* and *harakas*) are the simplified forms of what is given by the author in his *Dṛggaṇita*, I. i. 10-11, 20-22. (See *Dṛggaṇita*, of Paramēśvara Ed. K.V. Sarma, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*, No. 30, pp. 3-5).

143

3907

गुणमनुगुणितादिन्दोर्मध्यं स्यात् सप्तशून्यनवदहनैः ।

4

12,931

उच्चं चन्द्रमसः स्याद् वेदघ्नाद् भूमिरामनवसूर्यैः ॥ ६ ॥

3

20,378

चन्द्रमसः पातस्तु त्रिघ्नाद् वसुपर्वताग्निशून्ययमैः ।

283

52

रविभगणादथ भानोः गुणवसुयमलैः, विधोस्तु यमबाणैः ॥ ७ ॥

11

62

तुङ्गस्य क्षितिचन्द्रैः शशिपातस्याक्षिषद्भिरपि लिप्ताः ।

रविचक्रशुद्धराहोः शोध्यास्तास्तुङ्गचन्द्रयोः क्षेप्याः ॥ ८ ॥

[ध्रुवाणि]

3r-18°-15'-7"

शैलास्तिथयोऽष्टादशदहना भानोर्ध्रुवस्य विकलाद्याः ।

2r-0°-17'-1"

भूमिर्भूधरचन्द्राः गगनं नेत्रे विधोर्विलिप्ताद्याः ॥ ९ ॥

2r-5°-23'-18"

भुजगेन्दवो गुणयमाः सरवाणा द्वे शशाङ्गतुङ्गस्य ।

11r-1°-41'-4"

विकलाद्या जलनिधयो भूवेदा भूः शिवाश्च पातस्य ॥ १० ॥

6. ^{a)} B. गुणितादि broken away. ^{c)} B. उच्चं चन्द्रम broken away.

7. ^{a)} E. पातं तु. ^{b)} E. अहि for वसु. C has after b an extra śloka :

भयु (?) शेषे दिवसे शैलगुणैः स्वाशिशैश्च (?) हरयेदेतान् ।

खागैस्तवैर्विघ्ना विकलाद्यास्ताः परान्तमिताः ॥

^{d)} B. यमलैः broken off. E. रसशैलैः for यमबाणैः.

8. E. reads the śloka with some variation :

तुङ्गस्य तु रसवेदैः पातस्याद्रिद्विभूमिभिलिप्ताः ।

भानोः शोध्याः क्षेप्या विधूच्योश्चक्रशुद्धपाते च ॥

9. ^{a)} E. °यो धृतयो for °योऽष्टादश. ^{c)} E. रुद्रा for चन्द्रा. ^{d)} B. गगनाम्बरनेत्रे.

B. विधोः broken off.

10. E reads the śloka with different values :

दक्षान्धयो विधुयमाश्चत्वारो द्वे (2r-4°-21'-42") शशाङ्गतुङ्गस्य ।

विकलाद्या नवरामा द्वे द्वे रुद्राः (11r-2°-2'-39") शशाङ्गपातस्य ॥

^{b)} B. सरवा and द्वे broken off. ^{d)} A. पात स्यात् (corrupt).

11. The additive constant is to be added to the Mean position (in the first three cases) and in the case of the Node to (12r-Node). The planets (i.e., Sun etc.) are to be derived in the above-said manner by those who want, in the computation of eclipses, conformity of observation with calculation.

12. Some say that there is difference on observation (from the results derived by calculation) in the case of the Node, the Higher Apsis and the Moon, others (speak of it) in the case of the Moon, and still others, in the case of the Moon and the Node. We now consider (our above-mentioned) view (of additive constants as given in *śl.* 9-10) as correct.

(Correction for Terrestrial Longitude)

13a. A correction for difference (in longitude) of place has to be applied to the Mean positions. This, I shall state next.

13b-14a. Multiply the (Mean) daily motion in minutes by the difference in *yojanas* (of the place, for which the eclipse is calculated, from the Ujjain or Central Meridian) and divide by the circumference of the Earth at that place. The (resulting) minutes are to be added (if the place is west of the Central Meridian, and subtracted if east;

14b-15. The Central Meridian is east by 18 *yojanas* from the village of *Aśvattha*.¹ At this place, the circumference of the Earth is equal to 3240 *yojanas*. The length of the Equinoctical Shadow at this place has been stated by ancient (astronomer) experts by means of the letters *duṣ-ṭā-strī* (which is 2 *aṅgulas* and 18 *vyāṅgulas*).

(Correction for the Equation of the Centre)

16a. To derive the *Bhujāntara* and *Carārdha* corrections find the True Sun separately, (thus):

1. *Aśvattha* is the author's native village of Alattūr in Central Kerala. On this see the Introduction.

क्षेप्यं ध्रुवं स्वमध्ये मण्डलशुद्धे च शशिपाते ।
एवं साध्या विहगा ग्रहणे दृक्साम्यमिच्छद्भिः ॥ ११ ॥

केचिदहितुङ्गशशिनां दृग्भेदं वर्णयन्ति, शशिनोऽन्ये ।
शशितमसोरित्येके, पक्षोऽयं सम्मतोऽधुनाऽऽस्माकम् ॥ १२ ॥

[देशान्तरसंस्कारः]

देशान्तरसंस्कारः कार्यः स्यान्मध्यमे ; तमथ वक्ष्ये ।
गतिलिप्ता देशान्तरयोजनगुणिताः स्वभूमिवृत्तहताः ॥ १३ ॥

लिप्तास्ताः प्रक्षेप्या रेखायाः पश्चिमे, विशोध्याः प्राक् ।
अश्वत्थाख्याद् ग्रामादष्टादशयोजने किल प्राच्याम् ॥ १४ ॥

3240
समरेखा, ऽत्र तु भूमेर्वृत्तं शून्याब्धियमलगुणतुल्यम् ।
2-18
अत्र तु पलभा पठिता दुष्टा-स्त्री-त्यक्षरैर्वुधैः पूर्वैः ॥ १५ ॥

[भुजाफलसंस्कारः]

दोर्विवरचरदलार्थं पृथगथ दिवसाधिपं स्फुटीकुर्यात् ।

11. ^{a)} A.B.E. क्षेप्यध्रुवं ^{a)} C. दृक्साम्यमिच्छद्भिः ; E. ग्रहणे तु न संशयः कार्यः.
12. E omits the *śloka*. ^{ab)} D. शशिनोर्दृग्भेदं. ^{cd)} D. reading different :
अधुना परीक्ष्य कल्पितमस्माभिः शशिन एवेति ।
14. ^{a)} A. लिप्तान्ताः ; here, °स्ताः has been struck off and °न्ताः substituted.
15. ^{b)} B. शून्याब्धि.
16. ^{ab)} E. दोर्विवरे चरमलात्वं (lacuna, unindicated) साधिप-gap-स्फुटीकुर्यात् ।

16b-17a. The Mean Sun reduced by its Apogee (*Mandocca*, viz. 78° , which is supposed to be known) is found. (This is called *Mandakendra*). Its Great Sine¹ multiplied by 3 and divided by 80 will be the *Bhujāphala* (Equation of the Centre) which is additive or subtractive as the *kendra* is from Libra or Aries, respectively.

17b-18a. The *Bhujāphala* of the Sun divided by 6 is (the correction) for the Sun, in seconds; for the Moon (the division is) by 27 (and the result is) in minutes. This correction to the respective Mean positions is subtractive or additive according as the Sun's *Bhujāphala* is subtractive or additive.

(Correction for Decl. Ascen. Difference)

18b-19. (Take the figures) : 20, 40, 57, 72, 82 and 85 as the *vyās* for the half-signs (i.e., 15° , 30° , 45° etc.) of the *Bhujāmśa*² of the True Sun to which the Precession of the Equinoxes has been added. These *vyās* multiplied by the length in *angulas* of the Equinoctial Shadow and then divided by 4 give the *Carārdha* (Declinational Ascensional Difference) in *nāḍikās*.

20. The mean daily motion of the planet in minutes multiplied by the Sun's *Carārdha-vināḍis* (got as above) and divided by 3600, gives the result in minutes. These are to be applied to the Mean position (of the respective planets).

21a. The *Carārdha-vināḍis* (got as above, *śl.* 20) decreased by their one-sixtieth part form the correction in seconds for the Sun.

21b. For the Moon, these *vināḍis* multiplied by 20 and divided by 91 give the correction in minutes.

1. Great Sine or *Mahājyā* is the sine having *Trijyā* (or sine 90°) = 3438.

2. The angular distance gone in the first and third quadrants, and to go in the second and fourth quadrants is called *Bhujā* here.

स्वीयोच्चहीनभानोर्वाहुमहाज्या त्रिभिश्च संगुणिता ॥ १६ ॥

80

खाष्टहता बाहुफलं भवति, स्वर्णं क्रमात् तुलाजाद्योः ।

6

27

भानुभुजाफलतोऽङ्गैर्विकला भानोर्; विधोः कला ऋक्षैः ॥ १७ ॥

स्वे स्वे मध्ये कुर्याद् भानुभुजाफलवशाद् ऋणं च धनम् ।

[चरार्धसंस्कारः]

20

40

57

72

82

85

अत्रे-र्नाभिः-सोमः-प्रासीद्-राजा-मूदी

गृहार्धज्याः ॥ १८ ॥

सायनभानुभुजाया; एता जीवाः पलाङ्गुलैर्निहताः ।

4

विहताः पुनश्चतुर्भिभवन्ति ताश्चरदलविनाड्यः ॥ १९ ॥

भानोश्चरदलविघटीश्रुणा खेटस्य मध्यगतिलिप्ताः ।

3600

खाभ्रसराम-भक्ता लिप्ताः खेटस्य मध्यमे कार्याः ॥ २० ॥

चरदलविनाडिकास्ताः षष्ठ्यंशोना रवर्विलिप्ताः स्युः ।

20

91

नखगुणितास्तु विनाड्यो विधुनवभक्ता विधोर्भवन्ति कलाः ॥ २१ ॥

17. ^{b)} स्वर्णं क्रमात् corrected by the revisor to स्वर्णं कुर्यात्. E. तुलाजाद्ये.

^{c)} Before this A.B.C. have an additional *śloka* giving an alternate method for the calculation enunciated in 17^{cd}-18^{ab} :

भानुभुजाफलनिघ्ना मध्यगतिः खाम्रष्टकुयमभक्ताः ।

शोध्या देया वा स्यान्मध्ये खेटस्य सूर्यदोःफलवत् ॥

with the variant, C. शोध्या वा देया वा in c

^{d)} E. ऋण for ऋक्षैः, corrupt

18. ^{cd} C. omits this line and the following, viz. 19^{ab}. ^{d)} A.B.D. मुदी.

20. ^{b)} B. मध्यगति br. off. A. लिप्ताः om. ^{d)} B. लिप्ताः स्युर्मध्यमे च ताः कार्याः.

22. At sunrise, the corrections (pertaining to the Precession-corrected Sun in the six signs) beginning with Aries are subtractive and (to the six signs) beginning with Libra they are additive; the reverse is the case at sunset.

In the computation of the Node, all (the corrections, *Deśāntara*, *Bhujāntara* and *Carārdha*) are reverse, (i.e., additive becomes subtractive and vice versa).

(Computation of True positions)

23. The Mean Sun and Moon, calculated in the above manner, should be converted properly into their True positions.

The Great Sine (of the Mean Moon reduced by its Apogee) multiplied by 7 and divided by 80 will be the *Bhujāphala* for the Moon.¹

24-25a. The *Bhujāphala* (Equation of the centre) of the Moon is to be especially converted into arc. The number of degrees (contained in the *Bhujāphala*) multiplied by itself and reduced by 3 are (to be considered as) minutes. When this is added to the *Bhujāphala*, the arc for the Moon is got. This (method) is not (to be applied) for Mars etc.

25b. Find the True positions of the Sun and the Moon for sunrise and sunset, on the New or Full Moon day.

(The Great Sines)

25A-B. (The 24 Great Sines from 0° to 90° at intervals of $3\frac{3}{4}^\circ$ are) :

$3\frac{3}{4}^\circ$	225 ;	$33\frac{3}{4}^\circ$	1910 ;	$63\frac{3}{4}^\circ$	3084
$7\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	449 ;	$37\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	2093 ;	$67\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	3177
$11\frac{1}{4}^\circ$	671 ;	$41\frac{3}{4}^\circ$	2267 ;	$71\frac{3}{4}^\circ$	3256
15°	890 ;	45°	2431 ;	75°	3321
$18\frac{3}{4}^\circ$	1105 ;	$48\frac{3}{4}^\circ$	2585 ;	$78\frac{3}{4}^\circ$	3372
$22\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	1315 ;	$52\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	2728 ;	$82\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	3409
$26\frac{1}{4}^\circ$	1520 ;	$56\frac{1}{4}^\circ$	2859 ;	$86\frac{1}{4}^\circ$	3431
30°	1719 ;	60°	2977 ;	90°	3438

1. The work for the Sun has been given in sl. 16, 17a. The omission to mention the Moon's anomaly here indicates that the author presupposes this also.

मेषादिभवाः शोभ्याः, क्षेप्या जूकादिसंभवा उदये ।
विपरीतं त्वस्तमये; व्यस्तं राहोः स्फुटे निखिलम् ॥ २२ ॥

[स्फुटक्रिया]

एवंकृतौ तु मध्यौ सम्यग् रविचन्द्रयोः स्फुटीकुर्यात् ।
7 80
सप्तघ्ना तु महाज्या खाष्टहता दोःफलं भवेदिन्द्रोः ॥ २३ ॥

इन्द्रोर्भुजाफलस्य तु चापीकरणं विशेषतः कार्यम् ।
दोःफलभागाः स्वघ्नास्यूना विकला भवन्ति, तत्सहितम् ॥ २४ ॥

दोःफलमिन्द्रोश्चापीकृतं भवेत्, नैवमवनिजादीनाम् ।
उदये चाप्यस्तमये पर्वदिने रविविधू स्फुटीकुर्यात् ॥ २५ ॥

[महाज्याः]

225	449	671	890	1105	1315
शरीरनुद् धीभवनः कथंचनो नृलीजनो मानरूपः स्यालया ।					
1520	1719	1910	2093	2267	2431
अरामया धीव्यथया नयाधिया बुधोश्चिरत् सूक्तखरः कलाभरः ॥ २५A ॥					

2585	2728	2859	2977	3084	3177
महाशरो दूरसरो धमदुरो ससदुरो वेदनगः सुसङ्कुलम् ।					
3256	3321	3372	3409	3431	3438
तृणोरगो यन्त्रबलः प्रसङ्गगीर् धनावली कालभृगुर् जलेवलम् ॥ २५B ॥					

22. ^{a)} C.D E. read the *pāda* differently : युक्तिवशादिष्टकाले तु.

25. ^{b)} C. मनुजादीनाम्, corrupt. ^{c)} A.B.C.D. वा for च.

25A. C.E. omit the two old well known mnemonic verses 25A and B, which, really speaking, do not belong to this text, but are quoted here for convenience.

25B. ^{a)} A.B.C.E. हसदुरो for ससदुरो. ^{c)} D. यन्त्रगलः. ^{d)} B.D. जलेविला. All Mss. add at the end : इति महाज्याः.

परमेश्वरविरचितम्

(Syzygy)

26. Putting down the Sun and the Moon for sunrise on the New Moon day, and the Moon and the (Sun+6 signs) for sunset on the Full Moon day, consider their conjunction.

27a. If the Sun is greater, the conjunction is yet to take place, and if the Moon is greater, it is past.

27b-28a. The difference between the Sun and the Moon, converted into minutes and again multiplied by 60 is divided by the difference of their True daily motions in minutes: the result will be the *nāḍikās* to or from the (moment of) conjunction.

28b. The conjunction of the (said) Sun and Moon takes place only at the moment of the Syzygies (*Parva*).

29. The True daily motion (for that day) in minutes is multiplied by the number of *nāḍikās* to (or from) the moment of conjunction and (the product) divided by 60, is added to the respective True positions (of the Sun and the Moon) when the conjunction is yet to take place and subtracted when the conjunction is past.

30a. This done, the Sun and the Moon will be for the end of the Syzygies and be 'of equal minutes' (*i.e.*, equal except for the Rāśi-s).

(Possibility of Eclipses)

30b-31a. If the *Bhujāṃśa* of (Sun-Node) is less than 13° , an eclipse of the Moon may be expected; and, so for the Sun, if (the *Bhujāṃśa* is) less than (11° +the digits of the equinoctial shadow) (of the place).

(Measure of the Orbs)

31b. The True daily motion of the Sun (for the day) in minutes, multiplied by 5 and divided by 9 is (the measure of) its diameter in minutes.

[पर्व]

उदयेऽमावास्यायां रविचन्द्रौ, चन्द्रषड्भयुतसूर्यौ ।
पूर्णाग्रामस्तमये विन्यस्य, विचिन्तयेत् तयोर्योगम् ॥ २६ ॥

मानावधिके योगस्त्वेष्ट्यश्च, चन्द्रेऽधिके गतो भवति ।

चन्द्रार्कयोस्तु विवरं लिप्तीभूतं पुनश्च षष्टिघ्नम् ॥ २७ ॥

विभजेत् स्फुटगत्यन्तरलिप्ताभिर्योगकालघटिकाः स्युः ।

पर्वान्तकाल एव हि रविचन्द्रमसोस्तु योगः स्यात् ॥ २८ ॥

योगघटिकाभिनिष्ठाः स्फुटगतिलिप्ता विभाजिताः षष्ट्या ।

एष्ये योगे देयाः, शोध्या योगे गते स्फुटे स्वे स्वे ॥ २९ ॥

एवंकृतौ रवीन्दू भवतः पर्वान्तकालजौ समकलौ च ।

[ग्रहणसंभवः]

राहूनार्कभुजांशा विश्वोनाश्चेन्निशापतेश्चिन्त्यम् ॥ ३० ॥

ग्रहणं, ते सपलाङ्गुलरुद्रोनाश्चेत् तथा सवितुः ।

[बिम्बमानम्]

मानोः स्फुटभुक्तिकलाः पञ्चग्रा नवहताः स्वबिम्बकलाः ॥ ३१ ॥

28. ^{a)} B C.D. °चन्द्रमसोस्तयोस्तु.

29. ^{a)} A.B. °भिनिष्ठा, hypermetrical; E. घटिकाभिनिष्ठा.

30. ^{b)} C.D.E. पर्वान्तजौ समकलौ च.

31. ^{a)} E. च for स्व.

32. The True daily motion of the Moon (for the day) in minutes divided by 25 is (the measure of) its diameter in minutes.

To (the measure of) the diameter of the Sun, should be added 8 seconds, and (8 seconds) should be subtracted from (the measure of) the diameter of the Moon.

33-34a. The True (daily) motion of the Moon in minutes, divided by 10 and multiplied by the Mean daily motion of the Sun and (the result) divided by half the sum of the Sun's True and Mean daily motions, with 50 seconds added (to the result) will give the True (measure of the) diameter of the Shadow.

34b-35. The *Samparka* in the Lunar eclipse is the sum of the diameters of the Moon and the Shadow. In the Solar eclipse (it is) the sum of the diameters of the Sun and the Moon. Half the sum of the respective diameters, (i.e., the sum of the semi-diameters), is called the *Semi-Samparka* in eclipses.

36. (In the Sun's eclipse) the Sun is hidden by the Moon even as a pot by another pot. (In the Moon's eclipse) the hiding of the Moon by the Shadow is like submergence in water.

(Moon's Latitude)

37-38. The Great Sine got from (Moon—Node) multiplied by 4 and divided by 51 is the Moon's Latitude. This, multiplied by its True

25

इन्दोः स्फुटगतिलिप्ताः शरयमभक्ताः स्वविम्बलिप्ताः स्युः ।

8

अष्टौ विकला देया रविविम्बे, चन्द्रविम्बतः शोध्याः ॥ ३२ ॥

10

चन्द्रस्फुटभुक्तिकला दशभक्ता भानुमध्यगतिनिहताः ।

रविमध्यस्फुटभुक्तयोरैक्यार्थेनोद्धृता, युताश्च पुनः ॥ ३३ ॥

50

पञ्चाशद्विकलाभिः स्फुटविम्बकला भवन्ति तमसस्ताः ।

इन्दुतमोविम्बैक्यं चन्द्रग्रहणे तु सम्पर्कम् ॥ ३४ ॥

दिनभर्तुर्ग्रहणे तु युमणिनिशानाथविम्बयोरैक्यम् ।

तत्तद्विम्बैक्यार्थं ग्रहणे सम्पर्कदलमिति प्रोक्तम् ॥ ३५ ॥

कुम्भान्तरेण कुम्भो यथा तथा छाद्यते रविः शशिना ।

वारिप्रवेशवत् स्यात् चन्द्रस्य छादनं तमसा ॥ ३६ ॥

[चन्द्रविक्षेपः]

4

राहूनचन्द्रवाहुप्रभवमहाज्या

चतुर्भिरभिनिहता ।

51

एकेषुभिर्विभक्ता श्लेषः स्यात्, स्पष्टभुक्तिनिहतं तम् ॥ ३७ ॥

32. ^{a)} A. स्फुटभुक्तिकलाः. ^{b)} C. पञ्चप्रावेताः for शरयमभक्ताः. ^{c)} C. अष्टा for अष्टौ.

33. E reads this *śloka* and 34^{ab} differently, except for the first *pāda* of 33 :

चन्द्रस्फुटभुक्तिकला दशभक्ता विम्बलितिकास्तमसः ।

क्षेप्या विकलाः प्रायः पञ्चाशत् स्युस्तमोविम्बे ॥

मध्यगतिघ्नं भानोः स्फुटगतिभक्तं स्फुटं तमोविम्बम् ।

D. notes a stray alternate reading found in E : प्रायः पञ्चाशत् स्युः.

34. ^{a)} C. सम्पर्कः.

36. ^{a)} C. चन्द्रच्छादनं.

37. ^{b)} E. ज्याः. ^{cd)} E. एकेषुभिर्विभक्तां चन्द्रस्फुटभुक्ताडितां भूयः.

motion and divided by its Mean motion gives a more accurate (value of the) latitude according to some. The latitude in minutes resulting from (Moon—Node) in Aries etc. is north, and that resulting from the same in Libra etc. is south.

(Special work in the Solar Eclipse)

(1. Parallax in Longitude)

39a. I state now (the calculations) that have to be done specially for the Solar eclipse.

39b-40a. Using the Sun at the time of conjunction and the measures of the rising of signs for the desired place, and the time of conjunction, calculate the *Lagna* (i.e. 'the Rising point of the ecliptic in the east' or the Orient ecliptic point) at the moment of conjunction.

40b. The Orient ecliptic reduced by 3^r , (i.e. 90°), is called *Dṛk-kṣepa-lagna* (Nonagesimal).

41. The degrees intervening between the *Dṛk-kṣepa-lagna* and the Sun at that moment divided by 6 are the exact *Lambana-nata-nādikās*. (lit. 'Nādikās from nonagesimal for parallax in longitude').

42. If the *Lambana-nata-nādikās* are more than 15, then these subtracted from 30 should be taken as the *Lambana-nata-nādikās*.

मध्यगतिभक्तमिन्दोर्विक्षेपं स्फुटतरं वदन्त्यन्ये ।
क्षेपकला मेपादौ जाताः सौम्यास्, तुलादिजा याम्याः ॥ ३८ ॥

[रविग्रहणे विशेषः—१. लम्बनम्]

सूर्यस्यैव ग्रहणे कर्तव्यं कर्म यत्तदथ वक्ष्ये ।
पर्वान्तोद्भवरविणा स्वदेशमानैश्च योगनाडीभिः ॥ ३९ ॥

पर्वान्तकालजातं प्राग्लभं त्वानयेद् युक्त्या ।
राशित्रयहीनोदयलग्नं दृक्क्षेपलघ्नमिति कथितम् ॥ ४० ॥

दृक्क्षेपलघ्नमान्वोस्तत्कालजयोस्तथान्तरे जाताः ।

⁶
अंशः षड्भिर्भक्ता लम्बननतनाडिकाः सुसूक्ष्माः स्युः ॥ ४१ ॥

¹⁵
अधिकाः पञ्चदशभ्यो लम्बननतनाडिका भवन्ति यदा ।

³⁰
त्रिंशन्नाडीभ्यस्तास्त्यक्त्वा शिष्टास्तदा तु नतनाड्यः ॥ ४२ ॥

38. ^{ab}) E. चन्द्रस्य मध्यभुक्त्या विभजेत् सोमस्य भवति विक्षेपः.

A. bears corrections by two revisors in 37-38^{ab}, in two different hands, the revisions of both being uninked and so easily identifiable. The Ms. reads :

राहूनचन्द्रबाहुप्रभवमहाज्या (rev. ज्यां) चतुर्भिरभिनिहता (rev. ताम्) ।
एकेषुभिर्विभक्ता क्षेप्य (sic) स्यात् स्फुट (rev. स्पष्ट) भुक्तिनिहतं तम् ॥
मध्यगतिनिहत (rev. भक्त) मिन्दोर्विक्षेपं स्फुटतरं वदन्त्यन्ये ।

A revised version is written beneath these lines :

राहूनचन्द्रबाहुप्रभवमहाज्यां चतुर्भिरभिनिहताम् ।
एकेषुभिर्विभक्तां चन्द्र-gap-भुक्ताडितां भूयः ॥
चन्द्रस्य मध्यभुक्त्या विभजेत् सोमस्य भवति विक्षेपः ।

It appears that the first revisor has added what is written beneath the lines, (*i.e.* the second set of lines given above), and the second revisor has added the corrections made to the original lines. The second revisor, again, has added in the margin against the first set of lines : इति सुपाठः, and against the second set of lines : इति दुष्पाठः केनचित् प्रक्षिप्तः. The second revisor writes at the end of the lines : अन्य अनय-न इत्यर्थः, the significance of which is not very clear ; perhaps it might refer to the word अन्ये in the third line.

40. ^a) E. पर्वकालः, corrupt. ^b) E. चानयेत् for त्वानयेत्.

41. ^b) B.C.D.E. °जयोर्विवरजाताः. ^c) B. अंशः षड्भिर्भक्तः.

ग्रहण 3

43-44a. 25, 50, 74, 97, 120, 140, 160, 177, 193, 207, 219, 227, 234, 238, 239 : These are said to be the *Lambajyās*¹ for the (fifteen *Lambana-nata*-)*nāḍikās*.

44b-45a. The *Lambajyā* of the *Lambana-nata-nāḍikās* divided by 60 are the *Lambana-nāḍikās* for the time taken. There is a correction for these.²

45b. The digits of the Equinoctial shadow multiplied by 7 and divided by 9 are the *nāḍikās* arising from the latitude (of the place). These are (always) south.

46. If the Equinoctial shadow is more than 3 *aṅgulas* (digits), it should be reduced by 3 and the square of the remainder divided by 45, should be subtracted from the (above) latitudinal *nāḍikās*.³

47. 20, 39, 56, 69, 77, 80 : These are the *jyās* for the half-signs (15°, 30°, 45° etc.) arising from the *Bhujāmśa* of the *Dṛk-kṣepa-lagna* to which the Precession of the equinoxes has been added.

48. These divided by 20 are the *nāḍikās* due to *Apama*, (i.e., Declinational *nāḍikās*). The (*nāḍikās*) arising from (the Nonagesimal in) Aries etc. are north and those in Libra etc. are south.⁴

49. The difference between the *Akṣa* and *Apama nāḍikās* for opposite directions, and sum for the same direction is the *Dṛk-kṣepa-nata-nāḍikās* ; its direction should be taken as (the resulting direction of) the *nāḍikās*.⁵

1. This should be distinguished from the well-known *Lambajyā* or Sine Co-latitude.

2. This correction is given by *sl.* 45b-51a. It is to multiply the *Lambana-nāḍikās* got, by *Tribhona-lagna-saṅku* or Cos Zenith distance of the Nonagesimal.

3. What we get is the latitude of the place, given in *nāḍikās*, (at 6° per *nāḍikā*). The rule is rough, but tolerably correct for low latitudes.

4. The declination of the Nonagesimal is thus got again in *nāḍikās*.

5. This is the Zenith distance of the Nonagesimal, given in *nāḍikās*, suitable to the work. It is actually the degrees divided by 6. The author is satisfied with giving it approximately, as he feels that to be sufficient for the purpose in hand.

25 50 74 97 120 140 160
शिखिना नमुने वसनं सुधनं नरके नवस्य नास्तिक्यम् ।

177 193 207 219 227 234 238
ससटो बुधकृत् सनरो धटराद् सुरराद् भगोत्र दुर्गात्रः ॥ ४३ ॥

239
धीगिरम् इतीह प्रोक्ता नाडीनां लम्बजीवाः स्युः ।

60
लम्बननतनाडीनां लम्बज्या व्योमषड्विभक्ताश्च ॥ ४४ ॥

तत्काललम्बनाड्यो भवन्ति तासां भवेच्च संस्कारः ।

7 9
स्वरहतपलाङ्गुलेभ्यो नवभिर्नाड्योऽज्ञजाश्च ता याम्याः ॥ ४५ ॥

3 3
त्र्यङ्गुलतो यद्यधिका पलभा पलभाङ्गुलं त्रिहीनं यत् ।

45
तद्वर्गाद् शरवेदैर्लब्धाः शोध्यास्तदक्षनाडाभ्यः ॥ ४६ ॥

20 39 56 69 77 80
अद्रौ धिग्गां तिग्मां धातौ सुस्था नन्दी गृहार्धज्याः ।

सायनदृक्क्षेपाभिधलशस्य भुजोद्भवा इमा जीवाः ॥ ४७ ॥

20
शून्याश्चिभिर्विभक्ता भवन्ति घटिकास्त्वपमजाताः ।

मेषादिभवास्ताः स्युः सौम्या, जूकादिसंभवा याम्याः ॥ ४८ ॥

अक्षापमनाडीनां विदिशां विवरं, युतिस्तु तुल्यदिशाम् ।

भवति हि दृक्क्षेपनतं; कल्प्या दिक् तस्य घटिकावत् ॥ ४९ ॥

43. ^{ab}) E. नमुने सर सुधनं (corrupt). ^c) C. unindicated gap after ससटो to इतीह प्रो (in 44a). ^d) A. दुर्गात्रि; B.C. दुर्गात्रि; E. दुर्गात्रम्.

44. ^a) A. धीगरीम्; D. धीगिरिम्.

46. ^b) C. one पलभा om. by haplography. ^d) A. लब्धा.

47. ^b) C. ज्ञाते for धातौ. B.D.E. सुस्था. A.C.D.E. नदी, B नुदी, emended to नन्दी to suit the metre.

49. ^c) A.C.D.E. तु for हि. ^d) C. घटिकाभिः and E. घटिका च for घटिकावत्.

50-51a. Find the *Lambajyā* (cf. *śl.* 43-44) of 15-minus-*Dṛk-kṣepa* (*natanādikās*) and multiply by this the *Lambana* calculated previously (cf. *śl.* 44-45) and divide by 239. The result will be the *True Lambana*.

51b-52a. This *Lambana* should be subtracted from or added to the *nādikās* elapsed (from sunrise) to the time of conjunction. It should be added when the Sun is less than the *Dṛk-kṣepa-lagna*, and subtracted if otherwise.

52b-53. Calculate again, as before, the *Dṛk-kṣepa-lagna* and the (True) Sun for the time of conjunction corrected for *Lambana* and find the (True) *Lambana* for that (moment). Add this (True) *Lambana* to or subtract it from the *nādikās* elapsed (from sunrise) to the time of non-corrected conjunction (as found by *śl.* 29-30a) (to arrive at a more correct time of conjunction).

54-55. For this (corrected) time (of conjunction) again, find Sine *Dṛk-kṣepa-lagna* and the *Lambana*. Apply this to the non-corrected time of conjunction. Repeat this (process) till the value of the *Lambana* got does not differ from that of the previous. The Mid-eclipse of the Sun will be at the (non-corrected) time of conjunction corrected by the *Lambana* (derived as above) by successive approximation.

(ii. Moon's Parallax in Latitude)

56-57a. Now, take the *nādikās* of the Zenith distance of the Non-agesimal (already) got by successive approximation during the work of (*śl.* 54-55), and then its corresponding Sine *Lambajyā* (given in *śl.* 43-44). That multiplied by the difference in degrees of the true daily motions of the Sun and the Moon, and (the product) divided by 60, will normally give the *True Nati* (Parallax in latitude) in minutes.¹

1. $Dṛk-kṣepa-nati \rightarrow nādikā \rightarrow Lambajyā$, since *Nati* depends on Sine *Dṛk-nati*.

$$\frac{Lambajyā \times Bhuktyantara}{60} = Natikalās.$$

Now, *Lambana* depends on *Bhukti*. Since both the Sun and the Moon have *Bhukti* in the same direction, the relative *Lambana* is proportional to *Bhuktyantara*.

The division by 60 is to reduce the *Lambajyā* which is expressed in the sine-table with a maximum of 239 (or, say, 240) to ordinary *nādikā* measure. Also, the author takes the mean relative *lambana* as 49 minutes. (Cf. Moon's mean *lambana*, viz. 53' minus Sun's mean *Lambana*, viz. 4', = 49'). The mean *bhuktyantara*, viz. 13°.2 minus 1°, being 12°.2, we have, $\frac{240 \times 12^\circ 2}{60} = 48'.8$ or nearly 49'.

$$\text{Or, } \frac{\text{Max. } lambajyā \times sphuṭa-bhuktyantara}{60} = \text{Max. natikalās.}$$

$$\therefore \frac{\text{Any } lambajyā \times sphuṭa-bhuktyantara}{60} = \text{corresponding natikalās.}$$

(Contd. on next page)

दृक्क्षेपनतोनानां पञ्चदशानां तु घटिकानाम् ।
आनीय लम्बजीवां प्राक्सिद्धं लम्बनं तया गुणयेत् ॥ ५० ॥

239

विभजेन् नववह्नियमैस्तत्रातं लम्बनं स्फुटं भवति ।
पर्वान्तद्युगतघटीष्वृणं धनं वाथ लम्बनं कार्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥

दृक्क्षेपलगतोऽर्के तूने धनम्, क्रणमतोऽन्यथा कुर्यात् ।
कृतलम्बनपर्वान्तद्युगते दृक्क्षेपलगतमपि भानुम् ॥ ५२ ॥

आनीय पुनः प्राग्वत् स्फुटलम्बनमानयेच्च तल्लम्बम् ।
स्वर्णं कुर्यात् केवलपर्वान्तद्युगतनाडिकासु पुनः ॥ ५३ ॥

तद्युगतेऽपि दिनेशं दृक्क्षेपलगतमपि च लम्बं च ।
आनीय तदपि लम्बं केवलपर्वान्तदिनगते कुर्यात् ॥ ५४ ॥

भूयोऽप्येवं कुर्यात् सिद्धयत्यविशेषलम्बनं यावत् ।
अविशेषलम्बसंस्कृतपर्वान्तेऽर्कस्य मध्यमग्रासः ॥ ५५ ॥

[२. इन्द्रोः स्फुटविक्षेपः]

अथ यद् दृक्क्षेपनतं त्वविशिष्टं भवति तस्य घटिकानाम् ।
गृह्णीयाल्लम्बज्यां, गुणितास्ताश्चण्डभानुशीतांश्वोः ॥ ५६ ॥

स्फुटभुक्तयन्तरभागैः, षष्टिहता नतिकलाः स्फुटाः प्रायः ।

54. ^{b)} D.E. Extra hypermetrical वि after दृक्क्षेप.

55. ^{b)} C. Unindicated om. of यावत् to त्वविशिष्टं in 56b.

56. ^{a)} B. अथ यद् दृक्क्षेप broken off; E यद् om. ^{c)} A.C.D.E. लम्बज्या.

The word *prāyaḥ* is used to indicate that the present formula envisages only the usual case when both the Sun and the Moon are on the same side of the zenith. In the exceptional case where the two are on opposite sides of the zenith, the sum of the daily motions (*sphuṭa-bhuktiyoga*) should be used instead of the difference (*sphuṭa-bhuktiyantarā*). *Prāyaḥ* may also mean 'approximately', since the *naḍikās* themselves are approximate.

57b-58. Calculate as specified before (śl. 37-38) the latitude of the Moon at that moment (and apply to it the parallax in latitude (śl. 56-57a) in the following manner :) Sum of the parallax and the latitude (if both are) in the same direction and difference (when they are) in opposite directions, (the direction being that of the greater). The result obtained will be the more accurate (or corrected) latitude of the Moon (which should be used) for computing the Sun's eclipse.

(Half-duration of the Solar eclipse)

59-60a. From the square of half the sum of the diameters of the Sun and the Moon subtract the square of the corrected latitude. Find the root of the remainder. Multiply it by 60 and divide the result by the difference between the true daily motions of the Sun and the Moon. The result will be the *nādikās* of the half-duration of the eclipse. This is the usual method of finding the half-duration of eclipses.

60b-61a. Subtract from or add to the time of conjunction corrected for parallax in longitude the half-duration of the eclipse, and find, respectively, the times of the first contact and the last contact.

61b-62a. Calculate for these (two) particular moments the Nonagesimal, the Sun and the Moon. Using the values, (there being no need for *aviśeṣa* or successive approximation), obtained, calculate, once for all, the true parallax in longitude and the more accurate latitude, as before (śl. 56-58).

62b-64. From the square of half the sum of the diameters subtract the square of the latitude (got as above, for the chosen time, of first or last contact). Add the result to the square of the difference between the latitudes at mid-eclipse and at the chosen time, if (the two latitudes are) in the same direction; and (the square of their sum, if in opposite directions. Find the root (of the result). The (above) root multiplied by 60 and divided by the difference in minutes between the (true) daily motions (of the Sun and the Moon) will give (the time of) half-duration (of the eclipse, in *nādikās*). The half duration should always be calculated in this manner.

65. Take the *Lambana* (in *nādikās*) for the chosen time, (*viz.* the first or the last contact), and that for the mid-eclipse. Find their difference if both are positive or both are negative. This added to the half-duration will be the True (half-duration) in the case of the Sun's eclipse.

तत्कालजहिमरश्मेरपि विक्षेपं पुरोदितं कुर्यात् ॥ ५७ ॥

समदिङ्मनतिविक्षिप्त्योः संयोगो, भिन्नदिक्रयोर्विवरम् ।

स्फुटतरविक्षेपः स्यात् सूर्यग्रहणे तु चन्द्रमसः ॥ ५८ ॥

[रविग्रहणे स्थित्यर्थम्]

सम्पर्कार्धस्य कृतेर्विक्षेपकृतिं विशोध्य, शिष्टस्य ।

60

मूलं षष्ठ्या निहतं विभजेत् स्फुटभुक्तिविवरलिताभिः ॥ ५९ ॥

लब्धाः स्थितिदलनाज्यः, स्थित्यर्थे प्रायशो विधिरयं स्यात् ।

कृतलम्बनपर्वान्तद्युगते स्थित्यर्थमृणधनं कृत्वा ॥ ६० ॥

स्पर्शद्युगतं तद्वन्मोक्षद्युगतं च साधयेत् क्रमशः ।

दृक्क्षेपलम्बनमर्कं तत्तद्युगते विधुं समानीय ॥ ६१ ॥

स्फुटलम्बनं स्फुटतरं विक्षेपं चानयेत् सकृत् प्राग्वत् ।

सम्पर्कार्धस्य कृतेरिष्टक्षेपस्य वर्गमपनीय ॥ ६२ ॥

शिष्टे मध्येष्टजयोर्विक्षिप्त्योः समदिशोस्तु विवरस्य ।

वर्गं, विदिशोस्तु तयोर्योगस्य कृतिं पुनर्विनिक्षिप्य ॥ ६३ ॥

60

मूलीकुर्यान्मूलं षष्ठिघ्नं भुक्तिविवरलिताभिः ।

विहृतं स्थित्यर्थं स्याद् ; एवं कार्यं स्थितेर्दलं हि सदा ॥ ६४ ॥

तत्कालजमध्यजयोर्लम्बनयोः समधनर्णयोर्विवरम् ।

यत् स्यात् तत्संयुक्तं स्थित्यर्थं स्यात् स्फुटं रवेर्ग्रहणे ॥ ६५ ॥

58. ^{a)} C. विक्षेप्योः.

66. When, however, one of the two *Lambanas* is negative and the other positive, the half-duration added to the sum of the two *Lambanas* will be the True (half-duration).

67-68a. To the time of conjunction corrected for parallax add or subtract, as directed above, the two (True) half-durations. Find again the *Lambanas* and, (using them), the (True) half-durations. Do this again till the respective half-durations become non-differing (from their respective previous results).

68b. These non-differing half-durations are the True half-durations pertaining to the first and last contacts, (from which the times of contact are to be found).

(Half-duration in the Moon's eclipse)

69. Calculate for the Moon the two half-durations in the same manner as above, but without the calculation for parallax. Herein, the True latitude is only that derived from (Moon—node) (cf. *śl.* 37-38).

70. The half-duration calculated using the moment of first contact and that calculated using the moment of last contact are respectively subtracted from or added to the time of conjunction. The (resulting) moments will be the (True) *nādikās* of first and last contacts.

71a. The Mid-eclipse of the Moon is at the moment of the uncorrected time of conjunction. (cf. 28b-30a).

(Occurrence of an eclipse)

71b. When the latitude (at the moment of mid-eclipse) is greater than half the sum of the diameters, there will be no eclipse; otherwise, there will be one.

72. When the latitude is less than half (the diameter of) the eclipsing body minus (that of) the eclipsed body, there will be a total eclipse; if it is greater, the eclipse will not be total (but will only be partial).

लम्बनयो ऋणमेकं धनमन्यद् यत्र संभवति ।
लम्बनयोगेन युतं स्थित्यर्थं स्यात् स्फुटं तत्र ॥ ६६ ॥

कृतलम्बनपर्वान्तद्युगते तत्स्थितिदलद्वयं भूयः ।
प्राग्वत् स्वर्णं कृत्वा कुर्याल्लम्बं स्थितिदले च ॥ ६७ ॥

भूयोऽप्येवं कुर्यादविशिष्टे स्थितिदले तु यावत् स्तः ।
अविशिष्टे स्थित्यर्थं स्पष्टतरे स्पर्शमोक्षजे भवतः ॥ ६८ ॥

[इन्दुग्रहणे स्थित्यर्थम्]

इन्दोश्चैवं कुर्यात् स्थित्यर्थं, किन्तु लम्बकर्म विना ।
तत्र स्फुटविक्षेपो राहुविहीनेन्दुबाहुभव एव ॥ ६९ ॥

स्पर्शभवं स्थित्यर्थं मोक्षभवं च क्रमादणं च धनम् ।
मध्यद्युगते कुर्यात्; ते द्युगते स्पर्शमोक्षजे भवतः ॥ ७० ॥

केवलपर्वान्ते स्यान्मध्यद्युगतं तु चन्द्रमसः ।

[ग्रहणसंभवः]

सस्पर्कादधिके क्षेपे न ग्रहणम्, अन्यथा हि भवेत् ॥ ७१ ॥

ग्राह्योनस्य ग्राहकविम्बस्यार्धाद् यदाल्पकः क्षेपः ।
भवति समस्तग्रहणं तदा, अधिकश्चेन् न सकलस्य ॥ ७२ ॥

67. ^{b)} B.D. दलं for दलद्वयं. ^{c)} A. कृत्वा for कुर्यात्.

68. ^{b)} Hapl. om. after स्थित्यर्थं to स्थित्यर्थं in the next line, 69c. ^{d)} A.C. स्फुटतरे for स्पष्टतरे.

69. ^{c)} E. अत्र for तत्र. ^{d)} C. om. एव.

70. ^{d)} A.B.D. तद्युक्ते and E. तद्युगते for ते द्युगते.

72. ^{ab)} A. विम्बादूनो यदा क्षेपः.

• (Graphical representation of eclipses)

73a. I am stating (next) the *Valanas* (Deviations or changes in direction) pertaining to the different moments for drawing the diagram of eclipses.

(i. Latitudinal Deviation)

73b. The *Palāṅgulas* (Equinoctial shadow in terms of digits) multiplied by *Nata* (Hour angle) and divided by 12 give the minutes of the *Ākṣavalana* (Deviation due to Latitude).

74. In the case of the Moon these are northwards when the first contact is in the forenoon, and southwards in the afternoon. For the Sun, the opposite is the case. For both (the Moon and the Sun) the direction of the deviation for the last contact is the opposite (of their respective direction for the first contact).

(ii. Deviation due to the N or S course of the Moon)

75-76a. 1, 3, and 6 are the Sines *Āyana-Valana* (Deviation pertaining to the northward and southward courses of the Moon) in minutes for the *Koti-rāśi*¹ of the Moon corrected for Precession. The direction of deviation is the same as that of the *ayana* for first contact in the case of the Moon. It is the opposite for the Sun. For both (the Sun and the Moon) (the direction) at the last contact will be opposite to that at their first contacts.

(iii. Deviation due to Celestial latitude)

76b-77a. For the Moon the Deviation due to Celestial latitude is given by the latitude (in minutes) multiplied by 2 and divided by 7. Its direction will be opposite to that of the latitude, both for first and last contacts.

77b-78a. For the Sun, the Deviation due to Celestial latitude is given by the latitude in minutes divided by 2. Its direction will be that of the latitude, both for first and last contacts.

1. In the odd quadrants, the degrees etc. of the *rāśi* required to complete the quadrant is called *Koṭi*, and in the even, those gone is *Koṭi*.

[ग्रहणपरिलेखनम्]

परिलेखनाय वक्ष्ये तत्तत्कालोद्भवानि चलनानि ।

[१. आक्षवलनम्]

12

नतहतपलाङ्गुलेभ्यो द्वादशभिस्त्वक्षवलनलिप्ताः स्युः ॥ ७३ ॥

प्राप्ते स्पर्शे सौम्याः सायं यास्या विधो, रवेर्व्यस्तम् ।

स्पर्शविपरीतमुभयोर्मोक्षे चलनस्य दिग् भवति ॥ ७४ ॥

[२. आयनवलनम्]

1 3 6

एकोऽग्नयो रसाः स्युः सायनविधुकोटिराशिज्याः ।

आयनवलनकलास्ता, दिक् तासामयनवद् विधोः स्पर्शे ॥ ७५ ॥

व्यस्तं भानोर्; उभयोर्मोक्षे स्यात् स्पर्शविपरीतम् ।

[३. विक्षेपवलनम्]

2 7

द्विघ्नः सप्तविभक्तो विक्षेपः क्षेपजं चलनमिन्दोः ॥ ७६ ॥

विक्षेपाद् व्यस्तं स्यात् स्पर्शे मोक्षे च दिक् तस्य ।

2

द्वाभ्यां भक्तः क्षेपः सूर्यस्य क्षेपजं तु चलनं स्यात् ॥ ७७ ॥

विक्षेपवच्च दिक् स्यात् स्पर्शे मोक्षे तथा तस्य ।

75. ^{b)} C. राशिकोटिज्याः.76. ^{b)} C.D. विपरीतः.78. ^{a)} C. Haplographical omission of विक्षेपवच्च दिक् स्यात्.

(iv. Total Deviation)

78b-80a. The Celestial-latitudinal, Equinoctial and Terrestrial-latitudinal deviations are to be multiplied individually by (the actual diameter of) the eclipsed body and divided by 32. The sum of the (three results) if the (three) are in the same direction and difference if in different directions, will give the True (Total) Deviation.

When this (Total Deviation) is more than half the diameter of the eclipsed body, it should be subtracted from the diameter of the eclipsed body and the remainder taken as the True Deviation; in this case, however, east and west should be interchanged.

(The Eclipse-diagram)

80b. For the graphical representation (of the eclipse) the minutes of the diameters, deviations etc. should all be taken as so many digits (*angulas*).

81. First, draw the orb of the eclipsed body using a string of length equal to half its diameter. Across the circle draw the East-West and North-South lines.

82a. Measure off the (Total) Deviation (pertaining to the first and last contacts) in the East-West line from the east and west sides (as directed below).

82b-83a. The deviation for the first contact (should be measured off) from the east side for the Moon, and for the Sun, from the west side. The deviation for the last contact (should be measured off) from the west (side) for the Moon, and for the Sun from the east (side).

83b. Southward deviation should be measured off southwards and northward (deviation) northwards, in the same manner as sines are measured off, (*viz.*, perpendicular to the East-West line), on the circumference.

84. At the intersections of the circumference and the respective (Total) Deviations (for the first and last contacts), mark the two points representing the first and last contacts. At these points occur the first and last contacts of the eclipsed body.

[४. स्फुटवलनम्]

क्षेपायनाक्षजानां वलनानां ग्राह्यविम्बनिहतानाम् ॥ ७८ ॥

32

दन्तद्वतानां योगस्तुल्यदिशामन्तरं विदिकानाम् ।

स्फुटवलनं स्याद्, अधिकं ग्राह्यार्थाद् ग्राह्यतो विशोध्यं तत् ॥ ७९ ॥

शिष्टं स्फुटवलनं स्याद्, व्यत्यासश्चात्र पूर्वपश्चिमयोः ।

[ग्रहणपरिलेखः]

विम्बवलनादिलिप्ताः सर्वाः कल्प्याः स्युरङ्गुलानीति ॥ ८० ॥

ग्राह्यस्य विम्बमादौ विलिखेद् विम्बार्धमानसूत्रेण ।

पूर्वापरगां रेखां याम्योत्तरगां लिखेत् तस्मिन् ॥ ८१ ॥

पूर्वापररेखायाः पूर्वापरभागतो नयेद् वलनम् ।

चन्द्रस्य पूर्वभागात् स्पर्शिकवलनं, रवेस्तु पश्चिमतः ॥ ८२ ॥

मोक्षजवलनं पश्चाच्चन्द्रमसः, पूर्वभागतो भानोः ।

दक्षिणवलनं याम्ये, सौम्ये सौम्यं च गुणकवत् परिधौ ॥ ८३ ॥

तद्वलनपरिधियोगे बिन्दू द्वौ स्पर्शमोक्षकौ कुर्यात् ।

बिन्दुस्थितप्रदेशे विम्बस्य स्पर्शमोक्षकौ भवतः ॥ ८४ ॥

78c-80b. C.D.E. read :

क्षेपायनाक्षजानां वलनानां संयुतिस्तुल्यदिशाम् ।

नानादिक्त्वे तेषां विश्लेषः स्फुटतरं भवेद्वलनम् ॥

C. has one more śloka :

अधिकं षोडशतो यद्वलनं द्वात्रिंशतस्तु तच्छोध्यम् ।

शिष्टं वलनं विद्यात् पूर्वापरभाजकौ तदा व्यस्तम् ॥

81. ^{a)} A.B.D. तथा विलिखेत् तस्मिन्, E. तथा लिखेत् तस्मिन् for लिखेत् तस्मिन् ।82. ^{a)} E. रेखायां.83. ^{a)} A. वलनाद्.84. ^{a)} C. स्पर्श to स्पर्श in the next line duplicated.

85-86a. Take the mid-points on the circumference of the arcs formed by the points (of the first and last contacts) as the south and north points. On the line passing through these (two points) mark off from the centre the (celestial) latitude at mid-eclipse, in the direction of the latitude in the case of the Solar eclipse and in the opposite direction in the Lunar eclipse.

86b-87. Taking the tip of this latitude-line as the centre describe the eclipsing orb using (a string) measuring half the diameter of the eclipsing body. The eclipsing body will hide that portion of the eclipsed body which lies within this circle and not which is outside it.

(Eclipse at any moment)

88a. Again, with half the sum of the diameters describe a circle so that the eclipsed body is at its middle.¹

88b-89. From the centre draw two lines passing through the points of the first and last contacts and extending up to the (outer) circle. Mark on the circumference the two points at the ends of these two lines. Call these *Ādya* (the 'First') and *Antya* (the 'Last'); *Madhya* (the 'Middle') will be the point at the tip of the latitude at mid-eclipse.

90. Construct the arc of the circle passing through the (above-mentioned) three points. That (arc) will represent the path of the eclipsing planet, since the planet moves along that circle.

91. From the square of the sum of the semi-diameters subtract (separately) the squares of the latitudes at the first and last contacts; the roots of the remainders will, respectively, be the Bases pertaining to the first and last contacts.

1. Though the author intends this to be drawn on the figure already drawn, it may be drawn separately to avoid confusion, taking care to mark the points of first and last contacts and the point of latitude at central eclipse on the eclipsed body. Or, a different colour may be used on the same figure.

तद्विन्दोर्मध्यगतौ परिधेर्भागौ तु सौम्ययाम्यदिशौ ।
कृत्वा तद्वतसूत्रे केन्द्रान्मध्योद्धवं नयेत् क्षेपम् ॥ ८५ ॥

क्षेपदिगनुसारेण द्युमणेर्ग्रहणं, विधोस्तु विपरीतम् ।
विक्षेपाग्रं मध्यं कृत्वा, ५थ ग्राहकार्धमानेन ॥ ८६ ॥

ग्राहकविम्बं विलिखेत्, तद्विम्बान्तर्गतस्तु यो भागः ।
ग्राह्यस्य तं हि भागं छादयति ग्राहको, न बाह्यगतम् ॥ ८७ ॥

[इष्टग्रासः]

सम्पर्कार्धेन पुनस्तद्वृत्तं ग्राह्यगर्भमपि विलिखेत् ।
केन्द्रात्तद्वृत्तान्तं सूत्रयुगं स्पर्शमोक्षबिन्दुगतम् ॥ ८८ ॥

नीत्वा, तत्सूत्राग्रद्वये लिखेत् परिधिगतौ च बिन्दू द्वौ ।
आद्यान्त्याख्यौ, मध्यक्षेपाग्रे मध्यबिन्दुरपि कथितः ॥ ८९ ॥

खण्डं वृत्तस्य लिखेत् तद्विन्दुत्रितयं च, तद्वर्त्म ।
छादकखेटस्य भवेत्, तस्मिन् वृत्ते यतः स चरति खगः ॥ ९० ॥

सम्पर्कार्धस्य कृतेः संशोध्य स्पर्शमोक्षकालजयोः ।
विक्षेपयोस्तु वर्गं शिष्टपदे स्पर्शमोक्षबाहू स्तः ॥ ९१ ॥

85. ^{b)} A.B.C.D. याम्यसौम्य°.

86. ^{cd)} A. मध्यात् कृत्वा and C. मध्यं कृत्वा तु for मध्यं कृत्वाथ.

88-94. Absent in D.E. which represent the 89-*śloka* version of this work.

88. ^{a)} C. सूत्रयुगं left out.

90. ^{b)} C. corrupt : बिन्दुत्रितयं च तद्वत् ।

92. The difference between the (time of) mid-eclipse and the chosen time, multiplied by the respective bases and divided by the respective half-durations, is termed, here, as the *Iṣṭa-bāhu* (Base pertaining to the chosen moment).

93. The root of the sum of the squares of the *Iṣṭa-bāhu* and of the Moon's latitude at the chosen time is (called) the *Iṣṭa-salākā* (the distance between the centres of the bodies at the chosen moment). It should be measured off from the centre in the direction got for the time.¹

94. Describe the orb of the eclipsed body with its centre at the point of intersection of the path got (of the eclipser) and the *Iṣṭa-salākā*. The eclipsed portion at the desired time of the Sun or the Moon, (as the case may be), will be seen (demarcated) in that (orb).

(Eclipses not to be indicated)

95. An eclipse of the Sun if less than the eighth part (of its diameter) (will not be visible) due to its brilliance (and hence) is not to be indicated. Similarly, for the Moon (an eclipse) less than a sixteenth part (of its diameter) (will not be distinguishable) on account of its great brightness (and hence) not to be indicated.

(Conclusion)

96. Thus has been enunciated the computation of eclipses according to principles derived from the ancient texts. The times (of contact etc.) as obtained from this (calculation) may, at times, differ slightly (from observation).

97. "Predictions of the effects (of eclipses) occurring (a little) earlier or later than the times due are given (by me) on the authority of ancient texts on the subject"—so says Varāhamihira in his (*Bṛhat-*) *Saṃhitā* in the section entitled 'Prediction of effects of eclipses'.²

1. The Base and the Moon's latitude will decide this direction if the *salākā* is also derived geometrically, drawn on the figure itself.

2. The *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* verse referred to is this :

हीनातिरिक्तकाले फलमुक्तं पूर्वशास्त्रदृष्टत्वात् ।

स्फुटगणितविदः कालः कथंचिदपि नान्यथा भवति ॥ V. 25

The idea is this: Varāhamihira thinks that eclipses must occur at the times computed by the methods in vogue at his time, and that they cannot occur earlier or later. But he has given predictions as effects of eclipses occurring earlier or later than the times as computed because the ancient Śāstras mentioned such things, not because such things could happen. Cf., in this connection, his similar statement in his *Bṛhajjātaka* :

(Contd. on next page)

मध्येष्टकालविवरात् तत्तद्वाह्यं हताच्च यल्लब्धम् ।
तत्तत्स्थित्यर्थेन, प्रोक्तमिह तदिष्टबाहुरिति ॥ ९२ ॥

इष्टाख्यबाहुवर्गात् तत्कालक्षेपवर्गसंयुक्तात् ।
पदमिष्टशलाका स्याद्, अभीष्टदिशि केन्द्रतोऽथ सा नेया ॥ ९३ ॥

छादकविम्बं विलिखेद् वर्त्म-शलाकाग्रयोर्युतौ केन्द्रम् ।
कृत्वेष्टकालजातो ग्रासोऽर्केन्द्रोः प्रदृश्यते तत्र ॥ ९४ ॥

[अनादेशग्रहणम्]

^{१/४}
स्वाष्टमभागादूनं ग्रहणं तैक्षण्याद् रवेरनादेश्यम् ।

^{१/४}
षोडशभागादूनं स्वच्छतमत्वात् तथा शशिनः ॥ ९५ ॥

[उपसंहारः]

इति पूर्वशास्त्रयुक्त्या सिद्धमिदं ग्रहणकर्म निर्दिष्टम् ।
कालोऽनेन च सिद्धः कदाचिदिह भिद्यते स्वल्पम् ॥ ९६ ॥

“ऊनातिरिक्तकाले फलमुक्तं पूर्वशास्त्रदृष्टत्वात्” ।
इति गदितं ग्रहणफले वराहमिहिरेण संहितायां च ॥ ९७ ॥

94. ^{b)} A.B.D. वर्ग for वर्त्म.

96-99. Absent in D.E. which represent the 89-*śloka* version of the work.

97. ^{a)} B. ऊनातिरेककाले. ^{b)} A. सर्व for पूर्व.

पूर्वशास्त्रानुरोधेन मया वज्रादयः कृताः ।

चतुर्थे भवने सूर्यात् शसितौ भवतः कथम् ॥ XII. 6

Parameśvara's view is that Varāhamihira is wrong when he accuses implicitly the ancients. He thinks that eclipses can occur earlier or later than the times computed, owing to factors not taken into account or not known, but he is sure that they are correctly computable. And, he expects astronomers to find out these factors and institute necessary corrections (*samskāra*).

98. This being the case, it is to be postulated by learned astronomers well versed in (astronomical) theory that in the computation of the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon a correction not stated in old texts must exist.

99. Such a correction has to be postulated by astronomers after observing a large number of eclipses and with due consideration to the principles of spherics, or in the light of instructions of masters (who would have arrived at such a correction in a similar manner).¹

100. It is not possible to measure off (accurately) on its orb, the eclipsed part of the Sun, on account of its brilliance. Hence find (the extent of) that portion from circles of sunlight falling (on the floor etc.) in residences.

101. When it is not possible to measure off (accurately) on its orb even the (shadowed) dark portion of the crescent Moon, how then will it be possible on the Sun's orb, bright with countless dazzling rays.²

102. May this *Ornament of Eclipses*, composed in a hundred *āryā* (verses) by the twice-born named Parameśvara, endure for long in the minds of astronomers.

Thus ends the Ornament of Eclipses composed

by Parameśvara

1. Perhaps the author has at the back of his mind Muñjāla's *Laghumānasa Gaṇita*, on which he himself has commented and which gives the correction to the Moon, known as 'Evection' and envisages the possibility of others.

2. The author's comparison is aptly chosen, for the illuminated part gives the impression of a greater diameter for the Moon, causing the well-known illusion of the old moon in the arms of the new'.

शास्त्रादलब्ध एकः संस्कारो ग्रहणकर्मणि रवीन्द्रोः ।

अस्त्येवेति च कल्प्यः गणकवरैर्युक्तिविद्विरतः ॥ ९८ ॥

दृष्ट्वा बहूपरागान् सञ्चिन्त्य च गोलयुक्तिमिह गणकैः ।

कल्प्यः स तु संस्कारस्तस्मादथवा गुरुपदेशेन ॥ ९९ ॥

भानोर्ग्रस्तो भागस्तैक्षण्यान्मातुं न शक्यते स्वतनौ ।

वेष्टमान्तःपतितातपमण्डलतश्चिन्त्यतां स भागोऽतः ॥ १०० ॥

बालेन्दोरपि भागः कृष्णो मातुं न शक्यते स्वतनौ ।

किं पुनरितस्य विम्बे चण्डतरानेकरश्मिपरिदीप्ते ॥ १०१ ॥

परमेश्वरेण रचितं द्विजेन शतसम्मिताभिरार्याभिः ।

एतद् विलसतु सुचिरं गणकानां ग्रहणमण्डनं हृदये ॥ १०२ ॥

इति परमेश्वरविरचितं ग्रहणमण्डनं

समाप्तम्

98. ^{b)} A. ग्राहकर्मणि.

^{a)} C. तथ्यं for कल्प्यः. ^{d)} B. युक्तिविद्विद्विः.

99. ^{b)} B. गणितैः for गणकैः.

100. ^{a)} A. भानोः omitted. ^{b)} B. ज्ञातुं for मातुं.

^{a)} E. पतितातन्तश्च मण्डल.

101. ^{b)} B. ज्ञातुं for मातुं.

102. ^{a)} A. Stops abruptly with परमेश्वरेण. ^{b)} B. द्विजजन! शतसम्मिताभिरार्याभिः ।

D.E., the 89-*śloka* version reads : नवाधिकाशीतिसम्मिताभिरार्याभिः ।

APPENDIX

(Additional Correction to the Grahaṇamaṇḍana)

47. A further correction has to be applied to (the Mean position of) the planets (as computed by the methods) enunciated in the *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* (śloka 5-8). That correction, too, I shall state (here), since that has not been specified by me there.¹

48-50a. One second should be subtracted for every 200 years, from (the Mean position of) the Sun derived according to the *Grahaṇamaṇḍana*, to get its (correct Mean position).

In the case of the Moon, however, one second should be added (to its Mean position) for every 41 years.

In the case of the Node, one second should be added to (12r—Node) for every 135 years.

From the Mean of the Higher Apsis should be subtracted one minute for every three years.

50b. With the application of this correction (the Mean positions of) the Sun and other (planets) will become accurate.

(Dṛggaṇita of Parameśvara, II. iv. 47-50).

1. This correction is to be applied, naturally, from the date of the *khaṇḍa* of this work, given in śl. 5, viz. Kali days 16,48,157, corresponding to Kali year 4512, Kaṭaka 17, or A. D. July 15, 1410.

अनुबन्धः

[ग्रहणमण्डनोपरिसंस्कारः]

कार्यो ग्रहेषु ग्रहणमण्डनोक्तेष्वतः परम् ।
संस्कारस्तं च वक्ष्यामि, तत्र नोक्तं यतो मया ॥

शताद्वयाब्दे ग्रहणमण्डनोदितभास्करे ।
एकैका लिप्तिका शोध्या तत्सिद्धयै; शीतगौ पुनः ॥

योज्यैका वत्सरे सैकचत्वारिंशन्मिते कला ।
पञ्चत्रिंशद्युतशते वर्षे तुङ्गेऽशकस्तथा ॥

योज्य एको; राहुमध्ये शोध्यैकाब्दत्रये कला ।
एतत्संस्कारसंयुक्तास्तत्कार्काद्याः स्फुटाः स्मृताः ॥

परमेश्वरकृतं दृग्गणितम्,

द्वितीयो भागः, ४७-५० तमाः श्लोकाः ।

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	प्राग्वत् स्वर्णं कृत्वा	67 b	योज्यैका वत्सरे	App.
b	प्राहे स्पर्शे सौम्याः	74 a		
a			रविचक्रशुद्धराहोः	8 b
fn.	वालेन्दोरपि भागः	101 a	रविभगणादथ	7 b
a	विन्दुस्थितप्रदेशे	84 b	रविमध्यस्फुटभुक्तयोः	33 b
a	विम्बवलनलिताः	80 b	राशित्रयहीनोदय	40 b
a			राहूनचन्द्रबाहु	37a, 38 fn.
a	भयुशेषे दिवसे	7 fn.	राहूनार्कभुजांशा	30 b
a	भवति समस्तग्रहणं	72 b		
b	भवति हि दृक्क्षेपनतं	49 b	लघुभास्करीयविवृत्ता	3 fn.
a	भानावधिके योगः	27 a	लब्धाः स्थितिदलनाज्यः	60 a
a	भानुभुजाफलतोऽङ्गैः	17 b	लम्बनयो ऋणमेकं	66 a
b	भानुभुजाफलनिष्ठा	17 fn.	लम्बनयोगेन युतं	66 b
a	भानोः शोध्याः क्षेप्या	8 fn.	लितास्ताः प्रक्षेप्याः	14 a
a	भानोः स्फुटभुक्तिकला	31 b		
b	भानोर्ग्रस्तो भागः	100 a	वर्ग विदिशोस्तु	63 b
b	भानोश्चरदलविघडी	20 a	वसुवाणघ्नाद् भानोः	5 b
a	भुजगेन्दवो	10 a	वारिप्रवेशवत् स्यात्	36 b
b	भूमिर्भूधरचन्द्राः	9 b	विकलाद्या जलनिधयो	10 b
b	भूयोऽप्येवं कुर्यात्	55a, 68 a	विकलाद्या नवरामा	10 fn.
fn.			विक्षेपयोस्तु वर्ग	91 b
a	मव्यगतिग्रं भानोः	33 fn.	विक्षेपवच्च दिक् स्यात्	78 a
	मध्यगतिभक्तमिन्दोः	38 a	विक्षेपाग्रं मध्यं	86 b
b.	मध्यद्युगते कुर्यात्	70 b	विक्षेपाद् व्यस्तं स्यात्	77 a
a	मध्येष्टकालविवरात्	92 a	विज्ञाय च लघुतन्त्रं	3 a
b	महाशरो दूरसरो	25 B a	विपरीतं त्वस्तमये	22 b
fn.	मूलं षष्ठ्या निहतं	59 b	विभजेत् स्फुटगत्यन्तर	28 a
a	मूलिकुर्यान्मूलं	64 a	विभजेन् नववह्नि	51 a
a	मेषादिभवाः शोध्याः	22 a	विहृतं स्थित्यर्थं	64 b

विहताः पुनश्चतुर्भिः	19 b	सम्पर्कार्धेन पुनः	88 a
वेदमान्तःपतितातप	100 b	समरेखात्र तु	15 a
व्यस्तं भानोरुभयो	76 a	ससटो बुधकृत्	43 b
शतद्वयाब्दे ग्रहण	App.	सायनदृक्क्षेपाभिध	47 b
शरीरनुद् धीभवनः	25 A-a	सायनभानुभुजायाः	19 a
शशितमसोरित्येके	12 b	सूक्ष्मोपरागगणना	3 fn.
शशिमृगजतारकायाः	1 b	सूर्यस्यैव ग्रहणे	39 a
शास्त्रादलब्ध एकः	98 a	स्थूलमपीदं विद्यात्	3 fn.
शिखिना नमुने	43 a	स्पर्शशुगतं तद्वत्	61 a
शिष्टं बलनं विद्यात्	78 fn.	स्पर्शभवं स्थित्यर्थं	70 a
शिष्टं स्फुटबलनं स्यात्	80 a	स्पर्शविपरीतमुभयोः	74 b
शिष्टे मध्येष्टजयोः	63 a	स्फुटतरविक्षेपः	58 b
शून्याश्विभिर्विभक्ता	48 a	स्फुटमुक्तयन्तरभागैः	57 a
शैलास्तिथयो	9 a	स्फुटलम्बनं स्फुटतरं	62 a
शोच्या देया वा स्यात्	17 fn.	स्फुटबलनं स्यादधिके	79 b
षोडशभागादूनं	95 b	स्वरतिथिभुजङ्ग	5 a
संस्कारस्तं च	App.	स्वरहतपलाङ्गुलेभ्यो	45 b
सप्तम्रा तु महाज्या	23 b	स्वर्णं कुर्यात् केवल	53 b
समदिङ्मति	58 a	स्वाष्ट्यभागादूनं	95 a
सम्पर्कार्धधिके	71 b	स्वायोच्चहीनभानोः	16 b
सम्पर्कार्धस्य कृतेः	59a, 62b, 91 a	स्वे स्वे मध्ये कुर्यात्	18 a

ADDITIONAL VARIANTS : Ms. F.

The following variants to the *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* are from Ms. MC. 333-C of the Kerala University Oriental Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum. The collation sheets were received too late for the variants to be incorporated as footnotes in the body of the edition. It may be noted that this manuscript belongs to the 89-*śloka* version of the work and aligns itself to Mss. D and E, belonging to the same version, whose variants are recorded in the footnotes. However, minor individual variations from Mss. D and E rule out any immediate relationship between them and Ms. F.

Śloka

3. After the *śloka* F reads, with D. E, but with minor variations :

(Broken) – सन्तप्तानां मानसकुमुदस्य भानुविम्बमिदम् ।

(Broken) सूक्ष्मतरम् ॥

सूक्ष्मोपरागगणनं प्रदर्शित (Broken)

लघुभास्करीयविवृतावधिकारस्तत्र बुद्धिमतः ॥

Note that तत्र in the last line is the correct reading as against सूत्र in D.E.

7. b) ग्रहि for वसु. d) रसशैलैः for यमवाणैः.

8. Reads the *śloka* as in E.

9. a) °यो धृतयो for °योऽष्टादश with E, but against it in c) भूधरदहना रुद्राः for भूमिर्भूधरचन्द्राः

10. Variant *śloka* as in E.

11. d) ग्रहणे न तु संशयः कार्यः as in E.

16. ab) Corrupt reading resembling that in E :

दर्विवरे चरभलाद्धं साधिपं स्फुटीकुर्यात् ।

19. Adds after the *śloka* : चरदलविनाडिकाः ।

22. d) युक्तिवशादिष्टकाले तु, in consonance with C.D.E.

- 25 AB. Omitted. Merely reads in their place, महाज्या.

29. a) घटिकाविनिम्ना as in E.

30. b) पर्वान्तकालजौ समकलौ च, with C.D.E.

31. d) च for स्व as in E.

33 and 34 *ab*) Variant *śloka* as in E.

37. *b*) निहताम्. *cd*) Variant line as in E.

38. *ab*) चन्द्रस्य मध्यभुक्त्या विभजेत् विक्षेपलितिकाः शशिनः ।

लभ्यन्तेऽजादिभवाः सौम्या, जूकादिसंभवा याम्याः ॥

with variants from all the other Mss.

41. *b*) तत्कालजयोर्विवरजाताः with B.C.D.E.

43. *d*) दुर्गात्रम् with E.

49. *c*) तु for हि with A.C.D.E. *d*) घटिका च with E.

54. *b*) Extra hypermetrical वि, with D.E.

56. *a*) अथ दृक्क्षेप, with E.

70. *d*) तद्युगते, with E.

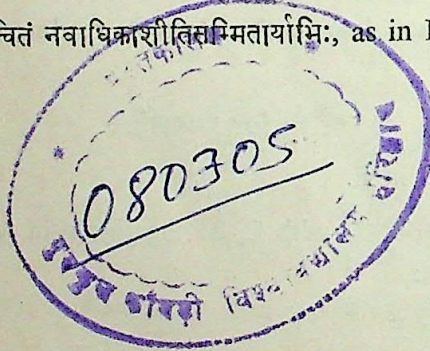
78c-80 *b*) Variant verse as recorded in C.D.E.

87. *b*) विम्बान्तरगतस्तु, new variant.

88-94. Absent, as in D.E.

96-99. Absent, as in D.E.

102. *ab*) रचितं नवाधिकाशीतिसमितार्याभिः, as in D.E.



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